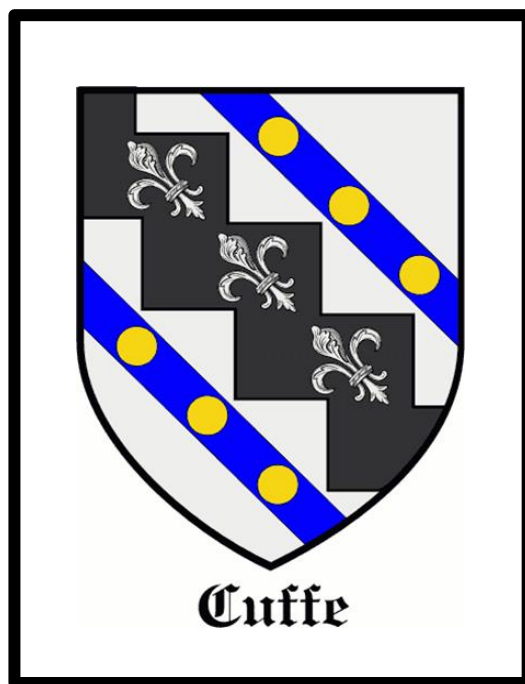
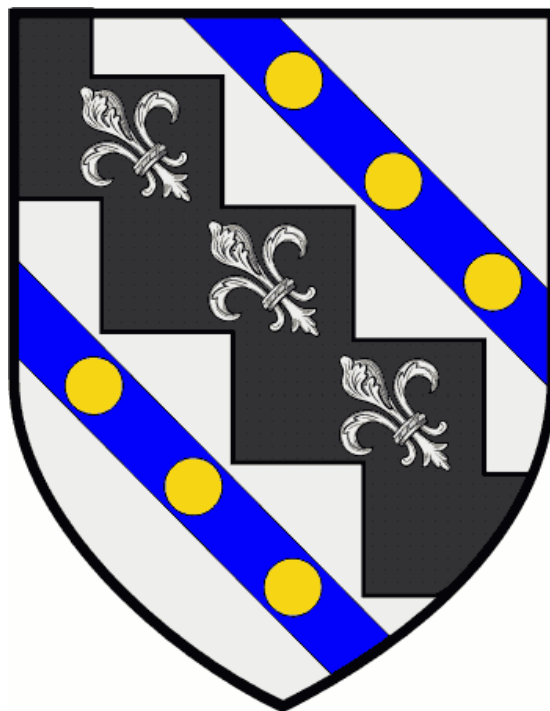


**Henry Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex,
archive documents,
1600-1601**



**Henry Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex,
archive documents,
1600-1601**

**Henry Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex,
archive documents,
1600-1601**



Cuffe

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Preface

This paper was originally planned to be one of the chapters of my genealogical work *Genealogie van Cuffez, Vol. V, Cuffer, Cuffet en addenda*, in Dutch. As the content of this paper is only of interest to the English readers, is it more useful to write it in English and to publish it as a separate item.

In the former editions of my *Genealogie van Cuffez en varianten Coffez en Couffez* (in Dutch) and *Coffey Genealogy* (in English) are chapters which are treating of the Cuffe-name in general.

In this present paper appears only Henry Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex, with a short genealogical overview of his ancestors. The main object was to publish the result of my research of archive files concerning Henry Cuffe, in the British Library of London. The transcribed manuscripts - as to my knowledge - are not published yet. To some manuscripts is referred in other papers on the same subject.

The texts in italic refer to copied texts, which are in handwriting in the used source. Non-italic texts refer to printed sources.

Sometimes there are two years mentioned in this script: 1600 (1601). This is due to the following: In Annunciation Style dating, the new year started on 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation. This was used in many parts of Europe in the middle ages. Annunciation Style continued to be used officially in the Kingdom of Great Britain until 1 January 1752. The events between January the 1st and March the 24th of 1601, where dated '1600'.

I apologise for the poor quality of my English, but my principal aim was to be as accurate as possible, so that there could not be some misunderstanding of the meaning of the sentences. The subject of the sentence is frequently repeated for that reason.

A name-index is not available, because of the possibility one can use the search function in the PDF format.

This e-book is available on the *Internet Archive* (www.archive.org) and can be downloaded. To read the text just like an actual book (even-numbered pages on the left, and odd-numbered ones on the right), after download, the pdf should be opened with the *Acrobat Reader DC*. The "View" menu option must be opened; select use the "Page Display" option to select the "2 Page View" and "Show Cover Page in 2 Page View". This should show the cover page as a single page and the following pages as a pair of pages like the text zzzn by www.archive.org.

Any comment on this paper is welcome to: andrecuffez@hotmail.com.

1 Introduction

In search of my roots, I thought "Cuffe" could be related to my name and already in 1986 I began to publish information on the Cuff(e)s, found in the Public Record Office and in the British Library in London (see my *Coffey Genealogy 3*, e-book 2017, pp. 533-37, 557-571). My e-books are in PDF format on the *Internet Archive* (www.archive.org).

I came across "Henry Cuffe" the protagonist of this paper before 1995. I copied the following succinct text (see my *Genealogie van Cuffez en varianten...*, Vol. III, Oostende, 1995, p. 59):

He was arrested with the other Essex supporters after the rebellion of 1601, the Earl blaming him for instigating the attempt to raise London. Cuffe was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn on 25 February 1601 ⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ There are other dates of his death: 8 March 1601, 13 March 1601, 18 March 1601 and 30 March 1601, see pp. 35-36.

I did not take note of the source of the above quotation, but the identical text is also part of the entry concerning Henry Cuffe on p. 58 of *Who's Who in Shakespeare's England*, by Alan and Veronica Palmer, London, Methuen, 2000, 280 pp.

As he was an important figure in English history in relation to the Earl of Essex, Lord Robert Devereux, and also a writer, a lot of information can be found in libraries and archives and even in the media. I have not the intention to write a complete paper about him. I will leave that to Jeff Cuffe, the founder of the CRC (*Cuffe Research Center*), who is related to the Cuffe-Desart family and will bring the complete story of this dramatic person.

In a first attempt to learn more about him, I found a fascinating statement written at the time of his death (see chapter 3.1), which was the beginning of a long and interesting voyage in the past.

1.1 Biography of Henry Cuffe

In order to understand better the reason for his hanging, follows the relation between Cuffe and Essex (source from the net: *The Story of the Cuffes of Desart Hall, County Kilkenny, 1583-1933, Ghostly Women and Forgotten Heroes*, July 2003). Turtle Bunbury is an award-winning travel writer, historian and author bases in Dublin, Ireland:

Henry Cuffe (1563 - 1601), Private Secretary to 2nd Earl of Essex

(...) Henry Cuffe was born at Rowlands in 1563, the son of Robert Cuff of Donyath, and rose to prominence as private secretary to the ill-fated Earl of Essex. If Hugh Cuffe, the Elizabethan adventurer in County Cork, was born in 1564 then it seems not unreasonable to suppose that he

was either a younger brother or perhaps a cousin of Henry. Proof of their relationship eludes us, although historians agree that the two men were certainly kinsmen the exact relationship is not known.

A graduate of Merton College, Oxford, Henry Cuffe joined the Earl of Essex's inner circle during the early 1590s. Contemporaries described him as an intensely studious and learned young man, not necessarily of a classical Renaissance mould but scathing of the "medieval" mind-sets he perceived to hold power in Elizabethan England. Cuffe would have been aware of the inner thoughts of Essex and his circle. Born in Hereford in 1568, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, was one of the great privateers of the Elizabethan age. He first endeared himself to the English people when, at the age of 29, he commanded a fleet in a raid upon the Spanish port of Cadiz. Hugh Cuffe was at his side during the campaign and quite possibly encouraged the young hero's "vaulting ambitions" for political influence in the Royal Court. However, despite her personal fancy for the man, Elizabeth I maintained that such a hot-headed soldier was not what she required in an age when diplomacy was fast emerging as the ultimate battle skill. The raid on Cadiz in 1596 was nonetheless a remarkable victory and not even Essex's failure to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet off the Azores the following year could undermine his popularity at home.

By 1598 the rebels in Ireland were in the ascendancy, and Elizabeth I faced the very real prospect of losing control of her Irish patrimony. It was time to send an army across the Irish Sea and the Earl of Essex was chosen to command the crown's army in Ireland. Essex had the reputation as the greatest military commander in England, but even more significantly, he was the leader of the 'war party' at court. This court faction were determined to complete the war in Ireland quickly, in order to free up the crown's forces to pursue English interests in the Spanish Netherlands. In March 1599, Essex was appointed as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and set off at the head of a colossal army numbering 1300 cavalry, 16,000 foot soldiers and 2000 veterans of the Dutch wars. Once again, Hugh Cuffe was at his side. Essex's Irish campaign was one of mixed results. He mopped up rebel fighting in Munster and re-established some control in the province of Leinster. The Queen however criticized the southern campaign as pointless, and ordered him North to battle with Hugh O'Neill, the earl of Tyrone. Despite the magnitude of his force, Essex was unable to secure the line of attack in the North, and in September 1599 at the end of the campaigning season, he met alone with O'Neill to parlay a ceasefire, without the crown's authority. While in Ireland, Essex was constantly looking over his shoulder at events in the English court. He blamed Sir Robert Cecil, leader of the aristocratic faction of moderates, for his loss of favour with the Queen. At length, Essex decided his best course of action would be to visit the Queen personally. On 24th September 1599, he suddenly left his Irish command, without permission, and, accompanied by his private secretary, Henry Cuffe, journeyed to London in a vain attempt to regain the Queen's favour. With the rebellion in Ireland still continuing, this proved a foolhardy decision for it was a treasonable offence for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to abandon his post without license from the crown. Essex was arrested on arrival in London and placed under house arrest for 18 months.

Henry Cuffe remained in London for the duration of Essex's imprisonment and devoted himself to defending the Earl's actions. Essex, however, had not the patience to await a peaceful outcome. Rumours abounded that Cecil sought his execution. At length, fearing the worst, Essex took his last big gamble and launched a coup d'état on 8th February 1601, full of hope that the Londoners who had so worshipped him after the siege of Cadiz would now rally to his defence and help oust his enemies from the Queen's council. A popular myth that later grew up around the Essex rebellion is that the day before the coup, Essex's supporters convinced William Shakespeare to stage the debut performance of his controversial new play, *Richard II*, the story of a monarch who lost his throne because he kept listening to evil advisers. One wonders whether Henry Cuffe was among those who put pressure on the Great Bard to commit this early act of spin doctoring. Alas for Essex, only 300 men rose in his favour and the riot was easily crushed.

"You sought to be Robert the First," shouted Edward Coke at the trial, "but you shall be Robert the Last". The Queen glumly dipped her quill in the inkwell, Essex was shackled and taken to the Tower of London and, **on 25th February 1601**, an executioner's axe severed his head from his body. He was 38 years old. Interestingly, the Queen insisted the execution be a private affair, the only such execution ever to be conducted within the Tower. She insisted this was because she didn't wish to upset those who still admired the Earl. But one wonders whether the daughter of a beheaded Queen, about to bequeath her kingdom to the son of another beheaded Queen, was simply upset that her government were about to behead one of her former favourites. At any rate, it was also the end of the line for Essex's inner circle and, **ten days later, Henry Cuffe was hung at Tyburn.**

1.2 Tyburn

Where is situated Tyburn? *Wikipedia* gives a good description:

Tyburn gallows

Executions took place at Tyburn until the 18th century (with the prisoners processed from Newgate Prison in the City, via St Giles in the Fields and Oxford Street), after which they were carried out at Newgate itself and at Horsemonger Lane Gaol in Southwark. (...)

In 1571, the "Tyburn Tree" was erected near the modern Marble Arch. The "Tree" or "Triple Tree" was a novel form of gallows, comprising a horizontal wooden triangle supported by three legs (an arrangement known as a "three legged mare" or "three legged stool"). Several felons could thus be hanged at once, and so the gallows were used for mass executions (usually of Catholics), such as on 23 June 1649 when 24 prisoners – 23 men and one woman – were hanged simultaneously, having been conveyed there in eight carts.

The Tree stood in the middle of the roadway, providing a major landmark in west London and presenting a very obvious symbol of the law to travellers. After executions, the bodies would be buried nearby or in later times removed for dissection by anatomists. (...)

The executions were public spectacles and proved extremely popular, attracting crowds of thousands. The enterprising villagers of Tyburn erected large spectator stands so that as many as possible could see the hangings (for a fee). On one occasion, the stands collapsed, reportedly killing and injuring hundreds of people. This did not prove a deterrent, however, and the executions continued to be treated as public holidays, with London apprentices being given the day off for them. One such event was depicted by William Hogarth in his satirical print, *The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn* (1747).

Tyburn was commonly invoked in euphemisms for capital punishment – for instance, "to take a ride to Tyburn" was to go to one's hanging, "Lord of the Manor of Tyburn" was the public hangman, "dancing the Tyburn jig" was the act of being hanged, and so on. Convicts would be transported to the site in an open ox-cart from Newgate Prison. They were expected to put on a good show, wearing their finest clothes and going to their deaths with insouciance. The crowd would cheer a "good dying", but would jeer any displays of weakness on the part of the condemned. (...)

Tyburn today remains the point at which Watling Street, the modern A5 begins. It continues in straight sections to Holyhead. According to an 1850 publication, the site was at No. 49. Connaught Square (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tyburn,_London).

Henry Cuffe was quartered after his hanging, but was he already dead? Since some prisoners were quartered when they were not entirely dead, a lot of them were afraid that this could happen to them, so also Cuffe. In Thomas Bayly Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials...*, p. 1450, (see further) Cuffe is saying the following at the end of his trial:

I desire the law may be satisfied with my life, without *torturing or quartering* of my flesh, and the rather for favour's sake unto learning, though I have neither place nor great birth to speak for that.

According to an eyewitness of the hanging, he and Essex's steward Sir Gelly Merrick ⁽¹⁾ 'died very Christianlie/ and were suffred to hange, longe after dead/ before they weere quartered' (Alan Stewart, *Instigating Treason: the Life and Death of Henry Cuffe, Secretary*, p. 66, reference: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, [FSL] MS G. b.4, 5.).

⁽¹⁾ Sir Gelli Meyrick (also Gelly or Gilly) (1556?-1601) was a Welsh supporter of Robert Devereux.

1.2.1 Account of the execution of Meyrick and Cuffe in Tyburn

I wrote to this library in order to find out what was the title and content of the document. They sent me a copy of the card relating to G.b.4 (27/01/10).

The '5' following the 'G.b.4' means: 'G.b.5' and refers to the *De Conquestu Anglise per Hispanos, 1570-1604*, (= Catholic plans to conquer England and Scotland). This MS has nothing to do with the *Execution of Sir Gelly (Meyrick) and Henry Cuffe* (= G.b.4).

Stanhope. Sir Michael ⁽¹⁾

Papers relating to the Earl of Essex, Sir Gelly Meyrick and the Essex Rebellion, 1596-1602

1 Vol. containing 72 numbered items.

Contents include a copy of Essex' letter to the Privy Council at his departure from Plymouth, (...) *an account of the executions of Sir Gelly and Henry Cuffe, Mar. 8, 1600/01*. Stanhope was one of the commissioners for seizing the earl's goods and probably the Michael Stanhope of Sudbury who was knighted in 1603. 19th century list of contents to items 1-67 at end. Contents summarized in *HMC (Historical Manuscripts Commission) Fifth Report* (1876), 362. (...)

(1) Sir Michael Stanhope (c. 1549 – c. 1621), of Sudbourne, Suffolk, was an English politician. Stanhope was the youngest surviving son of Michael Stanhope and Anne Rawson.

In order to find a copy, or abstract of the MS, I went to the BL (British Library, London) on the 28 of March, 2010, to read the *HMC (Historical Manuscripts Commission) Fifth Report* (1876), 362. The exact title is: *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts*, 1876. Finally I could locate the page 362 in *Part 2, Index*. On page 363 only the title of the MS was mentioned. The Folger Library gave me the identification-code (= G.b.4, item 67) of the MS, which I ordered and could download (e-mail) on April the 5th, 2010. The complete 5-page MS is transcribed and commented at pp. 33-36.

I was interested in the origin of the MS and how and when it became the property of the Folger Library. On my quest to the library I received from Ms. Georgianna Ziegler, the following, by e-mail of May the 17th, 2010:

The Folger Library acquired MS G.b.4 from a Sotheby Sale, Jan 30-31, 1956, Lot 410. It is listed there as: "from the Collection of E. P. Shirley, with his bookplate and a signed note by him pasted inside upper cover." The MS is also listed among MSS belonging to Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq. of Ettington Hall, Co. Warwick, in the *Historical MSS Commission Report 5* (1876), pp. 362-63. Shirley's note pasted in the front says "I bought this MS. At the sale of Mr. Hudson [i.e. Dawson]-Turner in June 1859." Dawson Turner (1775-1858) was a banker, botanist and antiquary from Norfolk (see the DNB [= *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*] account of him). The sale of his library, including 40,000 autograph letters, occurred at Puttick & Simpson over 6 days in June, 1859; *Catalogue of the Manuscript Library of the Late Dawson Turner* (London: Puttick & Simpson, 1859).

More about "Hung, Drawn and quartered" – (Wikipedia)

To be hanged, drawn and quartered was the penalty for high treason in medieval England, and remained on the statute book but seldom used in the United Kingdom of Great Britain [citation needed] and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland until abolished under the Treason Act of 1814. It was a spectacularly gruesome and public form of torture and execution, and was reserved only for this most serious crime, which was deemed more heinous than murder and other capital offences (...).

Until reformed under the Treason Act 1814, the full punishment for the crime of treason was to be hanged, drawn and quartered in that the condemned prisoner would be:

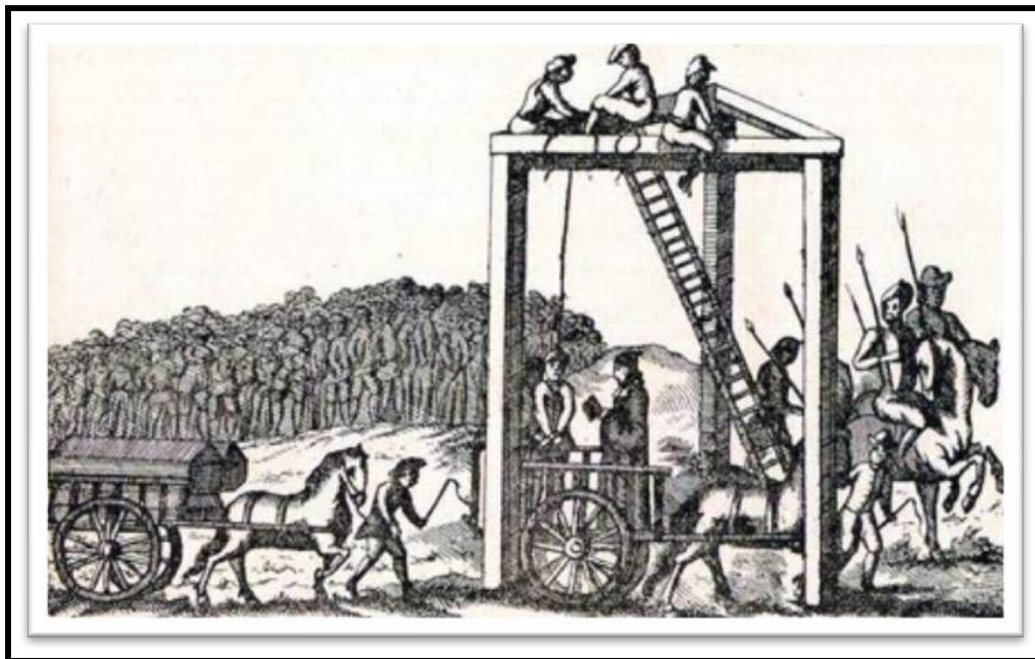
1. Dragged on a hurdle (a wooden frame) to the place of execution. This is one possible meaning of drawn.
2. Hanged by the neck for a short time or until almost dead (hanged).
3. Disembowelled and emasculated and the genitalia and entrails burned before the condemned's eyes (this is another meaning of drawn—see the reference to the *Oxford English Dictionary*...)
4. The body beheaded, then divided into four parts (quartered).

Typically, the resulting five parts (i.e., the four quarters of the body and the head) were gibbeted (put on public display) in different parts of the city, town, or, in famous cases, in the country, to deter would-be traitors who had not seen the execution. (...)

There is debate among modern historians about whether "drawing" referred to the dragging to the place of execution or the disembowelling, but since two different words are used in the official documents detailing the trial of William Wallace ("detrachatur" for drawing as a method of transport, and "devaletur" for disembowelment), there is no doubt that the subjects of the punishment were disembowelled.

Judges delivering sentence at the Old Bailey also seemed to have had some confusion over the term "drawn", and some sentences are summarized as "Drawn, Hanged and Quartered". (...)

Image of the Tyburn Tree



Tyburn tree (source: Wikipedia)

Site of Tyburn Tree.

Tyburn plaque on a traffic island at the junction of Edgware Road and Bayswater Road, W2 Westminster, near Marble Arch (photographs by the author, 20 November 2008)



View: direction Edgware Road



The plaque of Tyburn Tree

In London, near the Tower, is a beautiful old pub with the particular name: **The Hung Drawn and Quartered**, 27 Great Tower Street, The City. Inside are many copies on the walls of old paintings, such as Henry VIII, but no information on the name of the pub.

Below, a photograph of the pub taken by the author. Date: 11 November 2008.



2 Genealogical information and quotes concerning Henry Cuffe

2.1 Genealogy

With the information that I received from Jeff Cuffe (CRC), himself a member of the same family, we can trace back Henri Cuffe to the originator of the descendants of Sir John Cuffe, 1st Baron Desart, was created 1st Baron Desart in 1733 (next generations: Earl of Desart, created in 1793):

Henry Cuffe, born ca. 1563 in Hinton St George (Hinton St George is a village and parish in Somerset, England, situated 3 miles outside of Crewkerne, 10 miles south west of Yeovil in the South Somerset district), and was one of the 13 children of Robert Cuffe, married to Catherine Saunders.

Robert Cuffe, his father, born 1524 in Illchester, Somerset, England, died 1572 in Creech St. Michael, Somerset, England. His parents were Sir John Cuffe and Elizabeth Pawlshott.

Sir John Cuffe, born 1492 in Owned land at Torrells and Yerde (Illchester) and died 1552. He was knighted in 1544.

Jeffrey George Cuffe (b. 1951, Cardiff) founded the CRC (Cuffe Research Centre) in 1977. He already published a preliminary paper concerning Henry Cuffe: *The life and times of Sir Henry Cuffe of Donyiatt, Secretary to the earl of Essex*, 1987, Cardiff, ii, 20 p. For more information on CRC see: http://home2.btconnect.com/jeff.cuff/cuffe_research_centre.htm.

The coat of arms of the Cuffe-family (see title-page) was granted by a patent from Christopher Baker to the above mentioned Sir John Cuffe in 1544 (J.G. Cuffe, *The life and times...*, p. 2). Heraldic description:

Argent, on a bend intended sa., three fleur-de-lis of the field, between two cottises az., each charged with three bezants.

One description of the crest of the coat of arms, which was also granted at the same time (J.G. Cuffe, id.) – not published on the title-page – is the following:

On a wreath of the colours, a cubit arm vested or, cuffed ermine, the hand proper, charged with tow bendlets wavy azure, holding a battleaxe or.

A very good biography is published in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 14, Oxford, 2004, pp. 569-570. The author of the article, Paul E.J. Hammer, states that: 'Cuffe never married and apparently showed no interest in women'. In *The Differences of the Ages of Man's Life* (1607) he mentions women in connection with "the woman's treacherous seduction by the devil in the serpent". Hammer also says that the senior branch of the family were modest landowners at Creech St. Michael, near Taunton. Although his grandfather, Sir John Cuffe was knighted, Henry Cuffe did not inherit the title and he himself said that he was not of noble birth in a few documents. According to Hammer, Cuffe died on March 13th, 1601.

2.2 Quotes

Here are assembled some important quotes concerning Henry Cuffe, by friends and enemies. These quotes also give some information about his character, which is not always to be taken as according to the truth. Nevertheless they have influenced later writers.

In the *Biographia Britannica*, 1747-1766, Vol. 3, (full text in photocopy on pp. 57-63) pp. 1588-89, the author has written the following:

(...) and, as he was looked upon as the principal author of this fatal business; considered as a man of dangerous capacity; and having no sort of intelligence with those that were then in favour, he was, with Sir Gelly Merrick, executed at Tyburn, March 30th, 1601, and died with great constancy and courage (< *Stowes's Annal...*, p. 795). His character has been harshly treated by Lord Bacon and Sir Henry Wotton; and some other writers; Camden also, who knew him intimately, and had lived for many years in great friendship with him, bestows on him a short but bitter reflection. Others are milder in their censures, and all allow him to have been a very learned and a very able man.

'Lord Bacon'; Francis Bacon, 1st and Only Viscount of St. Alban, KC (22 January 1561 – 9 April 1626) was an English philosopher, statesman, scientist, lawyer, jurist and author. The following comes from the *Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam...*, Vol. III, London, 1824, p. 152, 'A Declaration of the practice and Treasons..., attempted and committed by Robert, late Earls of Essex...':

And that it may appear how early after his liberty he (Essex) set his engines on work, having long before entertained into his service, and during his government in Ireland drawn near unto him in the place of his chief secretary, one Henry Cuffe, a base fellow by birth, but a great scholar, and indeed a notable traitor by the book, being otherwise of a turbulent and mutinous spirit against all superiors.

Sir **Henry Wotton** (1568 – December 1639) was an English author and diplomat. Wotton was not, like his unfortunate fellow-secretary, Henry Cuffe, who was hanged at Tyburn in 1601, directly involved in Essex's downfall, but he thought it prudent to leave England, and within sixteen hours of his patron's apprehension he was safe in France. (*Wikipedia*).

There was amongst the Earl of Essex's nearest attendants, one Henry Cuffe, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counsels, smothered under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered (slobbered) over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity. (*Reliquae Wottonianae*, p. 31)

William **Camden** (2 May 1551 – 9 November 1623) was an English antiquarian, historian, and officer of arms. He wrote (...) the first detailed historical account of the reign of Elizabeth I of England (*Wikipedia*). In his *Annales...* (see also chapter 3.4) he wrote:

A man of most exquisite learning, and of a most sharp wit but turbulent and perverse.

A comment of the *Annales...* by *Wikipedia*:

Sometimes criticised as being too favourably disposed towards Elizabeth and James I, the *Annales* are one of the great works of English historiography and had a great impact on the later image of the Elizabethan age.

Baker [Baker's *Chronicle*, 2nd Edition, 1653] Sir Richard Baker (1568 – February 18, 1645) was the English author of the *Chronicle of the Kings of England*. For many years the *Chronicle* was extremely popular, but owing to numerous inaccuracies its historical value is very slight.

The thirteenth of March, Merrick and Cuffe are drawn to Tyburn, where Cuffe entering into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then, after prayers to God, and desiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was cast from the Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boisterous and turbulent disposition.

The *Biographia Britannica* also refers to Thomas **Fuller's** (1608 – 16 August 1661, who was an English churchman and historian) biography of Henry Cuffe in his *Worthies of England*, (see also chapter 3.2) 1662.

(...) whom Cuffe, an admirable logician (...)

He wrote an excellent book, "Of the difference of the ages of man", a rare piece indeed, though not altogether so hard to be procured, as worthy to be perused.

Campbell in the *Biographia...* (p. 1589) refers to Thomas **Tanner** (bishop) (1674–1735), English antiquary and prelate: ‘has spoken of him, (...) with great candour, accuracy, and decency’ (see Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica...*, 1747, p. 211):

CUFFE (HENRICUS) patria Somersetensis. In academia Oxon. in studiis philosophicis feliciter institutus fuit, ubi primum socius collegii S. Trinitatis, et A. MDLXXXVI socius collegii Merton; postea artium magister, publicus Graecae linguae pralector, academiae procurator, et tandem secretarius Roberti comitis Essexie factus. Scriptis *Of the differences of the ages of man’s life*. De differentiis aetatum vitae humanae; de origine etiam, causis, progressu et fine vitae humanae. Angl. Lond. MDCVII, MDCXXXIII, MDCXL 12mo Pr. “The learned Heraclite no less learned.” *Hexastichon Graecum* in *Camdeni Britanniam* praefat. In bibl. Cotton. Nero D.X. est liber *De rebus gestis in sancto concilio Nicaeno* ex Graeco in Latinum versus; et videtur esse Gelasii Cyriceni; quem ex bibliotheca Vaticana transcripsit Henr. Cuffius. Demum cum patrono suo comite Essexiensi tanquam laesae majestatis reus damnatus est, et poenas laqueo apud patibulum Tyburnense **dedit 30 Martii MDCI**. *Athen. Oxon.* tom. I, p. 307, seq.

Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, (1866-77), Nimes, reprint, 1990. In bold a very flattery character-description of Cuffe by the French encyclopaedist.

CUFF (Henri), littérateur anglais, né dans le comté de Sommerset en 1560, mort en 1601. Il professa le grec à Oxford, puis devint secrétaire du fameux comte d'Essex, qui venait d'être nommé lieutenant d'Irlande. **Homme de beaucoup d'esprit, d'un vaste savoir, et en même temps homme d'action, aimant les aventures hasardeuses**, Cuff conseilla, dit-on, le comte d'Essex, l'encouragea dans ses projets ambitieux, et le dissuada de faire sa soumission à Elisabeth. Lorsque le comte fut arrêté et mis en jugement, il reprocha amèrement à son secrétaire d'être la cause de tous ses malheurs. **Cuff tint en cette circonstance une conduite très digne, n'accusa personne, et subit le dernier supplice avec une grande fermeté**. On a de lui: *Différence des âges de la vie humaine* (Londres, 1607, in-8°), ouvrage qui eut un grand succès.

Of the more recent writers we have Giles **Lytton Strachey** (1880 – 1932) in *Elisabeth and Essex, a Tragic History*, chapter XI, 1928, who wrote:

Henry Cuffe was rash and cynical.

A comment on Strachey's work by *Life Magazine*, October 23th, 1939, p. 35:

(...) Lytton Strachey, whose 1928 best-seller of that name (*Elisabeth and Essex*) is the fullest authoritative study of the Tudor adventure.

3 Speeches of Henry Cuffe

In order to find more about Henry Cuffe, I visited several times the BL (Manuscript Reading Room) and in examining the first of his death speeches (scaffold speeches), I was so impressed by the text, that I wanted to know everything about it. I found the MS identification (Add. 5845) in the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1783-1950*. Here below is reproduced the transcribed text of it. The speech figures in a commonplace book written by William Cole⁽¹⁾ around 1773 (this date figures at fo. 179ro) and is commented by him.

3.1 First short speech by Cole - Add. (additional) 5845

British Library (London): Add. (additional) 5845, p. 351 (fo. 178ro)

Cuffe Henry Secretary of the Earl of Essex - Speech at his Execution

The following quaint(l)y (unusual) affected speech, I think, I have seen somewhere in print. I had it in MS, with many other papers, from my worthy friend Mr. John Allen⁽²⁾, now one of the senior fellows of Trinity College and rector of Torporley (Tarporley) in Cheshire, who had it from among the papers of Sir John Crew⁽³⁾ of Whinton in that parish. It is one loose peice (piece) about the time of Mr. Cuffe's execution.

His Speech at his Execution at Tyburne

I am adjudged to dye for a plot plotted, but never acted; for an act acted, but never plotted. Justice will have her course; accusers will be heard; greatness will have the victory; leaves (= lives?) must be executed; scholars and martialists (though learning and valour should have their privileges) must yett in England dye like doggs and be hanged. To dislike this is follye; to gainesay (= gainsay) it, is time lost; to alter it, is impossible, but to indure it, is Ma^{tie} (= Maiestie?); to score it, is magnanimitie. The Prince is displeased, the lawe injurious, the lawyers uncharitable and death terrible. But I asked pardone of the Prince, forgive the lawes, and the world, and I desyre to be forgiven, and welcome death.

This quant speech I take to have been made for him; as a more sensible one. The longer is inserted in his article in the Biographia..., p. 1588, where it appears evidently, that however learned and scholar-like he might be, these talents only enabled him to more mischeif: witness his application of the passage in Lucan, in order to enforce his advice:

Arma tenenti

Omnia dat, qui iusta regat

This he said when he was recommending the putting of the Queen under a force. In short; if his master Essex had completed his design, Cuffe would have been at the head of the new-modelled government. His quotation of Lucan was the chief argument to prove his treasonable designs: & indeed was a sufficient one.

-
- (¹) William Cole (1714-82), the Cambridge antiquary; he was at Eton (1726-32). B.A., 1737; M.A., 1740; ordained Deacon, 1744; Priest, 1745. He made extensive MS. collections amounting to about 100 folio volumes, which he bequeathed to the British Museum (source: *The Thomas Gray Archive*).
- (²) Allen, John. Adm. pens. (age 18) at TRINITY, Apr. 16, 1718. S. of John, of Bramshall, Staffs, School, Barton, Staffs. Matric. 1718; Scholar, 1720; B.A. 1721-2; M.A. 1725; B.D. 1750. Fellow, 1724. Proctor, 1743. Ord. deacon (Lincoln) Sept. 19; priest, Dec. 19. 1725. V. of Colne, Hunts. V. of Shudy Camps, Cams., 1741. **R. of Tarporley**, Cheshire, 1752-78. Died Feb. 13, 1778 (*Nichols*, III. 1128).
- (³) Sir John Crewe (Utkinton) (1641-1711), English landowner, of **Utkinton** Hall (source: *Wikipedia*) Or: John Crewe MP (1603-1670) author of a commonplace book (see: P H Lawson, *The Commonplace Book of John Crewe of Utkinton, Co Chester*, circa 1640-1650).

As I had some problems with completely understanding the text, especially with the abbreviation '*Ma^{tie}*', I looked up other presentations of the speech. Besides the 'longer speech' that Cole mentioned in his introduction, I found four speeches (Bilmer; Sutton [Camden]; Newcastle and Folger) which I discuss further. Thanks to Mrs. Juanita Louise Knapp, B.A. Hons (a very helpful correspondent in my research, Grantham, Lincolnshire, UK), a very helpful correspondent, I acquired a copy of an utmost detailed study on the speech, by Alan Stewart, professor of English and comparative literature at the Columbia University in New York, in his article *Instigating Treason: the Life and Death of Henry Cuffe, Secretary*, published in 'Literature, Politics and Law in Renaissance England', pp. 50-70, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. A copy is held in the University library of Cambridge. This paper is a 'must' for those who likes to know more about Henry Cuffe!

On page 50 Stewart has transcribed a fourth version of the same (short) speech which only differs from the above text that one part '*leaves (= lives?) must be executed*' is left out, and the abbreviation '*Ma^{tie}*' is changed to 'manly'. Instead of *scorne* (scorn: reject or dismiss as contemptible or unworthy) he has written 'score'. This speech he found is entitled: '*Hugh (sic) Cuffs speech at his Execution: Secretary to the Lord of Essex*', Joseph Hall's commonplace book, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC (FSL) MS V.a.339, 207^r.

Cole wrote in his introduction to the speech that he copied it from a paper from the time of Cuffe's execution, which was in the possession of a John Crew(e). On the 24/11/05 I sent an e-mail to the Record Office of Chester in order to find out if there were papers filed of a 'John Crewe of Utkinton'. I hoped that a written copy of the speech could be preserved in the commonplace book of the John Crewe MP (1603-1670). It took me a long time (many e-mails) to finally obtain an answer (e-mail 13/06/06): 'Our Research Consultant has checked the volume DAR/J/2, the Commonplace Book of John Crewe, and unfortunately there does not appear to be any reference to the execution speech of Henry Cuffe. (...) Jenny Hood, Archives Assistant.' A negative result is also a result.

In Cole's text, Cuffe asked pardon of the *Prince*. This is correct. The prince here is queen Elizabeth ('prince' in the meaning of 'princeps' = ruler). Queen Elizabeth often used the word 'prince' in her quotations.

Since Cole also refers to a longer speech in the *Biographia...*, p. 1588, I looked it up in the BL. The concerning article concerning Henry Cuffe covers 9 pages (1581-89) in folio and figures in the 3th volume of the *Biographia Britannica: or, the Lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest ages, down to the present times: collected from the best authorities, both printed and manuscript, and digested in the manner of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary. (With a supplement.)*, 6 Vols. pp. xvi. 4387. 260. W. Innys, etc.: London, 1747-66. It is an outstanding piece with many references to different sources and certainly worth studying. The author's name of the entry in the *Biographia...* is not mentioned except for the letter 'E'. In order to know the identity of the author I questioned the BL ('Rare-books'), who answered me the following:

The author of the Henry Cuffe article in the *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1747-66) is John Campbell (1708-1775). According to his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, he 'contributed to the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica* and according to [Andrew] Kippis it was largely his articles, signed E and X, which gave the work its reputation as 'a most valuable repository of historical and literary knowledge.'

Campbell also comments his writings, which I will bring forward later on, when I treat about Cuffe's mean work. We already have two different dates of his death (25th of February and 30th of March – see above). In the *Biographia...* is also mentioned 30th of March, based on *Stowe's Anal...*, p. 795. Sometimes we also find: 'died in March 1601'. There is also a third date: 8th of March (*Folger speech*, p. 33). A fourth date: 13th of March, Camden. Now follows the (longer) text of the *Biographia...*, pp. 1588-89:

3.2 First longer speech - *Biographia Britannia*, Vol. 3

I am brought hither to pay my last debt to nature, and to suffer for crimes committed against God, my Prince, and my country, and as I cannot but discern the infinite justice of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my offences, so can I as little doubt but the severity of my punishment will make way for my admission into the embraces of his mercy. We are exposed here as sad spectacles, and instances of human frailty; the death we are to undergo carries a frightful aspect, (for even the best of men desire life) besides that 't is as full of ignominy as terror. However, 't is the portion of the belt of saints with whom I assuredly hope to rise again in Christ. Not that I would lie thought by any one to depend upon my own merits, which I absolutely discard, but I place my entire trust and dependance (dependence) in the atonement of my Saviour's blood. I am fully persuaded, that, whoever feels a secret consolation within himself whilst he groans under the infliction of any earthly punishment, is chastised by God with a paternal tenderness,

and not in an angry and judicial way. But to come to the cause of my death; there is nobody here can be possibly ignorant, what a wild commotion was raised on the 8th of February, by a particular great, but unadvised, Earl. I do here call God, his angels, and my own conscience, to witness, that I was not in the least concerned therein, but was shut up on that whole day within the house, where I spent my time in very melancholy reflections'. *Here he was interrupted, and advised not to disguise the truth by distinctions, nor palliate his crime by specious pretences. Then he proceeded in these words:* 'I confess 't is a crime as black as treason, for a subject, who has lost his Prince's favour, to force his way to the royal presence. For my own part, I never persuaded any man to take up arms against the Queen, but am most heartily concerned, for being an instrument of bringing that worthy Gentleman, Sir Henry Nevile, into danger; and do most earnestly intreat (entreat) his pardon: and whereas I said, that one and twenty Aldermen⁽¹⁾ out of the twenty-four were devoted to the Earl's interest, I only meant that they were his friends, and ready to serve him, but not in the way of open rebellion.' Here he was again interrupted, and so began to apply himself to his devotions, which lie managed with a great deal of fervour, and then, making a solemn profession of his creed, and asking pardon of God and the Queen, he was dispatched by the executioner.

⁽¹⁾ An alderman is a member of a municipal assembly or council in many jurisdictions founded upon English law. The term may be titular, denoting a high-ranking member of a borough or county council, or denote a council member chosen by the elected members themselves rather than by popular vote. The title is derived from the Old English title of ealdorman, literally meaning "elder man" or "elder person" (since the word "man" was gender-neutral in Old English), and was used by the chief nobles presiding over shires (*Wikipedia*).

The author of the above speech copied the text from the *State trials*, which have been published for the first time in English in 1719. They are put on the net by Google. See: Thomas Bayly Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783, with Notes and Other Illustrations*, Bagshaw, 1816. Vol. 1 covers Henry II to Elizabeth I (1163-1600). The *Calendar Act* of 1751 stated that the year begins the 1st of January and not the 25th of March. Henry Cuffe's speech is listed on pages 1412-13.

Cole also mentions the two Latin verses of Lucan, which Cuffe has used in his defence on the trial, which are rather complicated:

*Arma tenenti
Omnia dat, qui iusta regat*

The verses mean, in a free translation: 'where justice is denied, it might be obtained by force' (*Biographia...*, p. 1888). Alan Stewart also comments the verses in his paper.

Who was Lucan? Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (November 3, 39 AD – April 30, 65 AD), better known in English as Lucan, was a Roman poet, born in Corduba. *Pharsalia* is one of his major works. *Pharsalia* (also known as "*The Civil War*") telling of the civil war between Julius Caesar and the forces of the Roman Senate led by Pompey the Great. *Pharsalia* is a reference to the Battle of Pharsalus, which occurred in 48 BC, near Pharsalus, Thessaly, in northern

Greece. Caesar decisively defeated Pompey in this battle, which occupies all of the epic's seventh book. Though, probably, incomplete, the poem is considered the best epic poem of the Silver Age of Latin literature.

The *Biographia...* refers to Thomas Fuller's biography of Henry Cuffe in his *Worthies of England*, 1662. The reprint of it in 1840 by Nuttall, gives the biography in Vol. 3, p. 103 (on the net):

Henry Cuffe was born at St. George Hinton in this county, as the late Lord Powlett, baron thereof, did inform me, though none of that name left there at this day. He was afterwards fellow of Merton College in Oxford, and secretary to Robert earl of Essex, with whom he engaged in his rising, anno 1600, being arraigned at Westminster for his life. Sir Edward Cook (then but the queen's attorney) disputed syllogistically against him; whom Cuffe, an admirable logician, could, *cateris paribus*, well have encountered. But power will easily make a solecism to be a syllogism. The most pregnant proof brought against him was a verse out of Lucan alleged by him ; for, when the earl, sitting in consultation with his complices, demanded their advice, whether he should proceed in their design, or desist, Mr. Cuffe returned,

" Viribus utendum est quas fecimus ; arma ferenti
Omnia dat qui iusta negat."⁽¹⁾

This, I may say, proved his neck-verse, being attested against him; for which he suffered. He wrote an excellent book , "Of the difference of the ages of man;" a rare piece indeed, though not altogether so hard to be procured, as worthy to be perused.

⁽¹⁾ The words of the poet are somewhat different. Fuller).

The exact text (Lucan) is: uiribus utendum est quas fecimus. **arma tenenti** (Book 1, verse 348)

omnia dat, qui iusta negat. nec numina derunt; (Book 1, verse 349).

Translation: Deny our rights! He that denies them makes our quarrel just (English translation by Sir Edward Ridley, 1896).

The *Biographia...* text, which precedes the speech, is also worthy to be cited (p. 1588):

(...) and shewed his (Cuffe's) approbation of by citing, in conversation, to Sir Henry Nevile, a passage from the poet Lucan, implying, that *where justice is denied, it might be obtained by force* (my emphasis): (...)

Mr Fuller (...) says, that this might be stiled Mr Cuffe's *neck-verse*, in which how improperly soever he shews his wit, yet certainly he shews his judgment at the same time, for without doubt the quoting these verses was the highest treason that Cuffe committed, and the only proof that he consented the project of putting a force on the Queen, which, in the construction of the law, was treason (...).

Hereunder follows the text of Sutton (Camden):

Cuffe extenuated the danger and difficulty, signified unto him (Sir Nevill) that the City of London and many of the Aldermen were at the Earles devotion and ready to assist him at his becke, and repeated that of Lucan,

Arma tenenti omnia dat, qui iusta negat.

Unto a man that's arm'd and of great might
Hee addeth more, that doth deny him right.

Neither did Cuffe deny these things. (...) (Sutton, 1601, No. 51)

3.3 Second short speech by Bilmor – Harley MS 1327

Second short speech I found in a Hartley MSS catalogue in the BL (1325, fol. 55ro). The wife of Edward Hartley, 2nd Earl (1689-1741), sold the incomparable collection of 7.639 volumes of manuscripts and 14.230 documents to the nation in 1743 for only £ 10.000. Under No. 1327 of the collection I read:

(...)

42. Notes of Walter Bilmor (the writer of the greatest part of this book) touching Sir Walter Raleigh, Mr. Henry Cuffe, Sir Gelley Merricke, & Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. 55

43. Mr; Henry Cuffe's speech at his execution. This seemeth to be only Some Fragments of it as wanting (?) connexion, & the mention of many particulars which might deliver upon that occasion. 55b.

Mr. Cuffs speech

I am adiudged to dye for plotting a plott never acted, and for actinge an acte never plotted. Justice will have her course, lawes must be extended and greatnes must have ye (= 'the', Late Middle English) victorye. Schollers, and martiallists, though learninge and vallour should have their priviledge, must dye, and be hanged in England like doggs. To dislike this is folly, to gainesaye it, is tyme lost and to alter it is impossible, to indure it is manly, and to scorne it is true magnanimitye.

The Prince is displeased, the Lawe is iniurious, the Lawyers uncharitable, & death terrible. But I aske pardon of the Prince, I forgive ye Lawe and the world, and I desier to be forgiven and we(I)come death.

Innocency conq^{rs} (conquers?) all mallitious pollycie

It is nearly the same text of the short speech that Stewart copied from *Hall's commonplace book*. Here we find again 'manly' and this is probably correct. When was this written by Walter Bilmor? I could not find any biographical information on him on the net. The latest date that I see in my copies (55-60vo) is 1626 (the years mentioned in this manuscript could be a year later, it depends of it was before, or after the 25th of March; maybe it is 1627?). Since he was present at Drury House in 1620 (see below), it was probably written shortly after 1626. The catalogue text mentions that the greatest part of the manuscript is

written by Walter Bilmor. The speech (55vo) is in the same writing of 55ro, which contains the signature of Walter Bilmor (see next). On the backside of the speech (fol. 55ro) is only mentioned the title of the speech of Henry Cuffe and threats about the Earl of Essex. The text was difficult to transcribe. I only transcribed the lower part of the folio 55ro:

A yeere before the death of Queene Eliza(beth)

<i>Sr Gelley</i>	<i>Mr Cuffes speech at his execution at Tyburne some tyme a fellow of</i>
<i>Merrike K(nigh)t</i>	<i>Martine Colledge in Oxon (Oxford) and secretary unto Robert Earle of</i>
<i>executed</i>	<i>Essex who was beheaded in the Tower of London by the envye of Robert</i>
<i>y^{en} (then) y^{er}</i>	<i>Cecill k(nigh)t then secretary unto the said Queene & afterwards in</i>
<i>(there)</i>	<i>Kinge James tyme created Earle of Sallisbury, who subtilly did unknowne</i>
	<i>to her Ma(ies)tie p(ro)cure her hand for his execu(ti)on.</i>
	<i>Col(ophon?): Malice and power takes awaye the life of Innocents.</i>

Not a man that had a hand in the innocent blood of Essex p(ro)spered

The d^r (doctor) ⁽¹⁾ that falsly preached that y^e Earle, when he & d^r Moumford ⁽²⁾ were sent to examine him in the Tower for the supposed treason aga(ins)t the Queene & to pray with him, he prayed religiously himselfe, & denied that he did ever intend any ill against the Queene but his discontent only against Cecill, yett that doctor that was with d^r Moumfor falsly preached at Paules Crosse that the Earle did then acknowledge himselfe guilty of treason against the Queene, for w^{ch} (which) untruth by the favour of Cecill he was made B^{ip} (bishop?) of Peterborough wherein a short tyme he was choaked (= choked?) in suppinge a litlebroth (= eating soap). But d^r Moumford was hindred from any perferment (= performance?) for iustifyinge the contrary against the false B^{ip}.

This in the yeere 1620 I heard dr Moumford declare to Sr W(illia)m Smith ⁽³⁾ kni(gh)t at Sr W(illiam) D(rury) house in Drurrylane.

I being y^{en} (then) & y^{er} (there) p(re)sent

(signed) Wr Bilmor

turne the leafe

⁽¹⁾ d^r: Doctor (of Divinity) William Barlow (died 1613), preached at St Paul's Cross (now St Paul's cathedral) against Essex (see *Camden*, 1601, No. 37), or was it d^r Thomas Dove, appointed bishop of Peterborough on April 25th, 1601, who died in 1630?

⁽²⁾ Moumford: Thomas Montfort, also mentioned in *Camden*, 1601, No. 37.

⁽³⁾ Smyth: Thomas Smith (also: Smythe) (1558-1625), friend of Essex, captain of the trained bands, sheriff of London, suspected of supporting Essex, but acquitted.

3.4 Second longer version of the speech (Camden) - Sutton

William Camden (2 May 1551 – 9 November 1623) was an English antiquarian, historian, and officer of arms. He wrote the first topographical survey of the islands of Great Britain and Ireland and the first detailed historical account of the reign of Elizabeth I of England. The following information about Camden comes from the net (*Wikipedia*):

In 1597, Lord Burghley suggested that Camden write a history of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The degree of Burghley's influence on the work is unclear, however; Camden only specifically mentions Sir John Fortescue, Elizabeth's last Chancellor of the Exchequer, and **Henry Cuffe, the Earl of Essex's secretary**, as sources.[1] Camden began his work in 1607. The first part of the *Annales Rerum Gestarum Angliae et Hiberniae Regnate Elizabetha*, covering the reign up to 1597, appeared in 1615. The second part was completed in 1617, but was not published until 1625 (Leiden), and 1627 (London), following Camden's death. The first translation into English appeared in 1625.[2]

The *Annales* were not written in a continuous narrative, but in the style of earlier annals, giving the events of each year in a separate entry. Sometimes criticised as being too favourably disposed towards Elizabeth and James I, the *Annales* are one of the great works of English historiography and had a great impact on the later image of the Elizabethan age. (...)

[1] Adams pp. 53, 64

[2] Kenyon p. 10

The complete *Annales*... are digitalised by Dana F. Sutton of the University of California, Irvine, and put on the net by the University of Birmingham, UK.

As the English version of Sutton slightly differs from the one in the *Biographia*... of 1766, it seems important to give also this one. Maybe the translation in English by Sutton is a copy of the translation of the *Annales*... of 1625, or later (see above *Wikipedia*)? Our university library of Ghent (UGent, Belgium) detains several copies of Camden's work in English. I chose the 1635 edition: *Annales, or, The historie of the most renowned and victorious princesse Elizabeth, late Queen of England Containing all the important and remarkable passages of state both at home and abroad, during her long and prosperous reigne. Written in Latin by the learned Mr. William Camden. Translated into English by R.N. Gent. Together with divers additions of the authors never before published*, London : Printed by Thomas Harper, for Benjamin Fisher, and are to be sold at his shop in Aldersgate street, at the signe of the Talbot, 1635, 586 p.

I compared the text of Sutton with the one in Ghent of 1635 on pp. 556-57, and found out that the text of Sutton is identical with the one in the English *Annales*... of 1635, except for a few minor spelling changes (e.g.: 'Majestie' to 'Majesty') and punctuation marks.

Second longer version of the speech, (Camden) – Sutton

(The authorisation to copy the text below had been kindly given by Dr Martin Wiggins (m.j.wiggins@bham.ac.uk) in his e-mail of 25 January 2010).

The 13th of March were Merick and Cuffe drawne to Tyborne. Cuffe (to repeat it summarily) spake to this purpose at the Gallowes:

I am brought hither to pay my due to nature, and to suffer for my sins against God, my Prince, and Country. I doe most firmly beleeeve that, as in beholding the multitude of my sins I see the infinite Justice of God, so by the greatnes of the punishment inflicted on me, I shal feel his infinite mercy. Here are wee a spectacle and example of man's condition. The death which weare to undergoe is terrible (for sweet is life even to the best men), and to us certainly ignominious, but yet common even to the best men, yea, to Gods Saints, with whom I have assured hope of resurrection in Christ. And let not any man thinke by this that I trust to mine owne merits; let them vanish. I put my whole trust and confidence in the precious blood of my Saviour. And I am certainly perswaded that whosoever is punished in this life, and at the same instant feeleth inward confort from heaven, God punisheth him as a father, not as a Judge. But to come to the cause of my death, there is none but knoweth how confused the tumult was on the 8th of February under that great Earle, little considering the day. I call God, the Angels, and mine owne conscience to witnesse that I was not guilty thereof, but was shut up all the day long within the house, and wept and mourned. As for the designe, it was two-fold... *Here being interrupted and admonished not to delude the truth by distinctions, nor sowe figge-leaves to cover his fault*, I confesse (saith he) that it were a high offence, yea Treason, if a subject cast out of favour and degree of honour should by force and armes make his way to the Queenes Majesty. But I never incited any man to arms against the Queene. But whereas I have brought that Noble Knight Sir Henry Nevill into danger, I am hartily sorry for it, and I earnestly intreat him to forgive mee. And whereas I said that of the 24 Aldermen of London 21 were at the Earles devotion, this I meant of their most favourable affection unto him, and not that they would take armes for him.

(Heere being interrupted againe, he fell to most fervent prayer, and having professed most devoutly his faith in God, and craving pardon of God and the Queene, hee ended his life by the halter. A man of most exquisite learning, and of a most sharp wit but turbulent and perverse⁽¹⁾).

⁽¹⁾ This last sentence is added by Camden, who was a good friend of Henry Cuffe and did know him well.

Out of the comparison between the text of Sutton (Camden) and the *Biographia...* (*State Trials*), see next page, we may conclude that there is a great similarity between them. The text of the *State Trials* is in more recent English, but not necessarily earlier.

Next we will discuss another long, even longer, version (Newcastle) of the event and also make a comparison.

3.4.1 Comparison of Sutton (Camden) with the Biographia... (State Trials)

*I am come hither to paye my last debt unto Nature, and to suffer the extremitie of Lawe for crimes and to make satisfaction to my God, my Prynce, and my countrey for my offences nowe I doe constantlie hope and beleve as by seeinge the greatnes of my sinnes I perseeve the infinitenes of gods Justice so by the greatenes of Gods punishment I justlie persuade self of his infinitenesse of Gods mercie. My lordes and *pian (= Christian) bretheren you are here assembled to see us p(re)sented before yo^r (= your) eies as a gazinge stocke (= gazingstock: person that is stared at by many people) of deathe and humaine **miserie**.*

In deed (indeed) yoys (= joys) bitter and fearfull to the fleshe, and reprochefull and ignominious to the world howbeit the testimonie of former tymes, and the examples of other mens miseries proove unto us that the conditions of reproche and infamie of deathe yt self ys co(m)mon to the best sorte of men nay (= no) to the Saintes of God themselves whom as I shall followe in shame and deathe : so my soul doth (= does) assure me that I shall arise together with them, in glorie and life eternall : but let no man misconstrue (= misunderstand) this my confidence, as though I boasted of my oxone (Oxford) merritts, I doe utterlie disclayme in them, dependinge only upon the precious blood of my saviour Jesus Xhristi : This I should for certaintie, ..^{(1)?} as a principle in Divinitie, and I do knowe suche docto(r)s of Dyvinitie as be here will approove yt, that who soever is temporallie punished, and at the same instance fees a spirituall comforte inwardlie him doth God chastice (=chastise), as a childe and dothe not punishe him as a Judge

To come to the:

(p. 2) To come to the matter it self for which we must foster deathe everie one knowes of that tumultuous multitude gathered under that great Earle as evill advises in that according as the effect since proved and as Men then thought: as for my self God his Angells and my conscience can testefie for me that I was neither a partie nor anie waie privie (= privy) or consentinge unto it here being interrupted he desired to proceed in his speache and uttered theis wordes that he did beare no parte in that tragedie but he parte of a childe of mourninge and weeping being kepte within doore all the daie longe, here he was interrupted againe by one sayinge: did not yo^r (= you) yo^r self confesse as you came from the barre, that you were iustlie (justly) condemned: I did, said he, but not for anie thinge donne the eight of ffebruarie: now for the plott it self which never came into action, it consistethe of two partes: the intencon.. (= intentioning) ..^{(2)?}: and the meanes how to accomplish the entent (= intent) of the intencon(ing) ..^{(2)?} Here he was interrupted againe: by one sayinge: ohhone, (ohone) do you decline from the good of the penitent deathe your Lorde made and now go aboute to justefie yo(ur) self: you must confesse yo(ur) sinne and make satisfaction to the world that you were in staie (in stay =instead) condemned to dye, that yo(u) may better deserve forgiveness of this yo(ur) soule and most traiterous offence both of God and his queene: Here the Lord Graie (= Grey) interrupted him sayinge: this is not tyme for logical distinctions I am sorrie that those good parts which God hath bestowed on you and that by yo(ur) owne industrie

(p.3) and labo(ur) you have attained unto, should be thus abused in iustefyinge yo(ur) self: Cuffe off(e)ring to speake, nay pressinge and earne solid requestinge to speake: An other replied unto him: all the Judges have resolved yo(ur) entent was treason and you though not partie in this fact yet because crime to the entent was a principal traitor: and the Earle of Essex in his confession saithe, you were a principal instigator and therefore theise yo(ur) faire wordes are but figge leaves to cover yo(ur) shame and you must knowe that who soever goeth (= got) about to levie (=levy) warre within the Queenes Dominions his head cannot staie upon his shoulders, and the Crowne upon her head together: I confesse quoth Cuffe that it was wicked and ungodly and nowaie to be warranted, for a dubiest? (= dubious) being in disgrace from her Maiestie presence, to make accesse for him self by force without her licence, nay, replied one (,) it is treason in the highest degree: geve (= give) me leave I praie you said Mr Cuffe I speake of the scripture what it was by Gods lawe and I consent in my soule with the judgem(ent) that it was treason: but will you not geve me leave to speake. Here one said he must not be suffred to speake for he should but p(re)vent him self of other thinges more necessarie and shorten his oxons daies and tyme: there he protested he neither him self mooved nor knewe of anie one that entended to take armes against the Queene. As concerninge the Queene and citie how of the foure and twentie Aldermen there were assured to the Earle of Essex one and twentie, he meant yt was in lawe and so he assured him self, but not to take armes: and he was sorrie that so manie noblemen and gentlemen were so

(p. 4) ignorantlie drawn into this unfortunate action, hopeinge notwithstandinge that the Queene would sparre twentie that were guiltie then condemne one that was innocent: then beinge minotoralie (= minatory) interrupted he fell to praiers then to an excellent and most

Xpianlike (: Christian like) confession of his faith: then to his belief concerninge the scriptures: then to aske pardon of God the Queene and the Countrey, and of all those who were interested in this matter, but principallie of Sir Henrie Nevill, who

was drawn into this unfortunate action by him as an instrument: and thus he com(m)ytte his Soule to God: I am brought hither to pay my last debt to nature, and to suffer for crimes committed against God, my Prince, and my country, and as I cannot but discern the infinite justice of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my offences, so can I as little doubt but the severity of my punishment will make way for my admission into the embraces of his mercy. We are exposed here as sad spectacles, and instances of human frailty; the death we are to undergo carries a frightful aspect, (for even the best of men desire life) besides that 't is as full of ignominy as terror. However, 't is the portion of the belt of saints with whom I assuredly hope to rise again in Christ. Not that I would lie thought by any one to depend upon my own merits, which I absolutely discard, but I place my entire trust and dependance (dependance) in the atonement of my Saviour's blood. I am fully persuaded, that, whoever feels a secret consolation within himself whilst he groans under the infliction of any earthly punishment, is chastised by God whit a paternal tenderness, and not in an angry and judicial way. But to come to the cause of my death; there is nobody here can be possibly ignorant, what a wild commotion was raised on the 8th of February, by a particular great, but unadvised, Earl. I do here call God, his angels, and my own conscience, to witness, that I was not in the least concerned therein, but was shut up on that whole day within the house, where I spent my time in very melancholy reflections'. Here he was interrupted, and advised not to disguise the truth by distinctions, nor palliate his crime by specious pretences. Then he proceeded in these words: 'I confess 't is a crime as black as treason, for a subject, who has lost his Prince's favour, to force his way to the royal presence. For my own part, I never persuaded any man to take up arms against the Queen, but am most heartily concerned, for being an instrument of bringing that worthy Gentleman, Sir Henry Nevile, into danger; and do most earnestly intreat (entreat) his pardon: and whereas I said, that one and twenty Aldermen⁽¹⁾ out of the twenty-four were devoted to the Earl's interest, I only meant that they were his friends, and ready to serve him, but not in the way of open rebellion.' (Here he was again interrupted, and so began to apply himself to his devotions, which he managed with a great deal of fervour, and then, making a solemn profession of his creed, and asking pardon of God and the Queen, he was dispatched by the executioner.)

3.5 Third longer version of the speech - Newcastle

There is a third version of the longer speech in manuscript, which I found in the BL, also in the Harley papers: 4289, 2.

Concise description from the Harley-catalogue:

1. (...)
2. An account of the Affair of the Earl of Essex, on Sunday the 8th of February 1600 (= 1601): with a narrative of arraignment & the behaviour and speeches of Mr Henry Cuffe, Sir Guillian Merricke, Sir Charles Davers (also: 'Danvers' ⁽¹⁾, see *Camden*) & Sir Christopher Blount ⁽¹⁾, at their execution, thus far is uniformly written, and belonged to the D(uke) of Newcastle [= William Cavendish?, 1st Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1592–1676)]. The journals bound with them have no reference to them. 48-49vo

⁽¹⁾ see notes on p. 36.

The writing is very regular, but difficult to read. It is a very early document, certainly before 1676 (death of the Duke of Newcastle).

Third longer version of the speech – Duke of Newcastle

I am come hither to paye my last debt unto Nature, and to suffer the extremitie of Lawe for crimes and to make satisfaction to my God, my Prynce, and my countrey for my offences nowe I doe constantlie hope and beleewe as by seeinge the greatnes of my sinnes I perseive the infinitenes of gods Justice so by the greatenes of Gods punishment I justlie persuade self of his infinitenesse of Gods mercie. My lordes and *pian (= Christian) bretheren you are here assembled to see us p(re)sented before yor (= your) eies as a gazinge stocke (= gazingstock: person that is stared at by many people) of deathe and humaine miserie.

In deed (indeed) yoys (= joys) bitter and fearfull to the fleshe, and reprochefull and ignominious to the world howbeit the testimonie of former tymes, and the examples of other mens miseries proove unto us that the conditions of reproche and infamie of deathe yt self ys co(m)mon to the best sorte of men nay (= no) to the Sainctes of God themselves whom as I shall followe in shame and deathe : so my soul doth (= does) assure me that I shall arise together with them, in glorie and life eternall : but let no man misconstrue (= misunderstand) this my confidence, as thoughe I boasted of my oxone (Oxford) merritts, I doe utterlie disclayme in them, dependinge only upon the precious blood of my saviour Jesus Xhristi : This I should for certaintie, ..(1)? as a principle in Divinitie, and I do knowe suche docto(r)s of Dyvinitie as be here will approove yt, that who soever is temporallie punished, and at the same instance feeles a spirituall comferte inwardlie him doth God chastice (=chastise), as a childe and dothe not punishe him as a Judge

To come to the:

(p. 2) To come to the matter it self for which we must foster deathe everie one knowes of that tumultuous multitude gathered under that great Earle as evill advises in that according as the effect since proved and as Men then thought: as for my self God his Angells and my conscience can testefie for me that I was neither a partie nor anie waie privie (= privy) or consentinge unto it here being interrupted he desired to proceed in his speache and uttered theis wordes that he did beare no parte in that tragedie but he parte of a childe of mourninge and weeping being kepte within doore all the daie longe, here he was interrupted againe by one sayinge: did not yo^u (= you) yo^r self confesse as you came from the barre, that you were iustlie (justly) condemned: I did, said he, but not for anie thinge donne the eight of ffebruarie: now for the plott it selfe which never came into action, it consistethe of two partes: the intencon.. (= intentioning) ..^{(2)?}, and the meanes how to accomplish the entent (= intent) of the intencon(ing) ..^{(2)?}. Here he was interrupted againe, by one sayinge: ohhone, (ohone) do you decline from the good of the penitent deathe your Lorde made and now go aboute to justefie yo(ur) self: you must confesse yo(ur) sinne and make satisfaction to the world that you were in staie (in stay = instead) condemned to dye, that yo(u) may better deserve forgiveness of this yo(ur) soule and most traiterous offence both of God and his queene. Here the Lord Graie (= Grey ⁽³⁾) interrupted him, sayinge: this is not tyme for logical distinctions, I am sorrie that those good parts which God hath bestowed on you and that by yo(ur) owne industrie

(p.3) and labo(ur) you have attayned unto, should be thus abused in iustefyinge yo(ur) self: Cuffe off(e)ring to speake, nay pressinge and earne solid requestinge to speake: An other replied unto him: all the Judges have resolved yo(ur) entent was treason and you though not partie in this fact yet because crime to the entent was a principal traitor: and the Earle of Essex in his confession saithe, you were a principal instigator and therefore theise yo(ur) faire wordes are but figge leaves to cover yo(ur) shame and you must knowe that who soever goeth (= got) about to levie (=levy) warre within the Queenes Dominions his head cannot staie upon his shoulders, and the Crowne upon her head together: I confesse quoth Cuffe that it was wicked and ungodly and nowaie to be warranted, for a dubiest? (= dubious) being in disgrace from her Maiestie presence, to make accesse for him self by force without her licence, nay, replied one (,) it is treason in the highest degree: geve (= give) me leave I praie you said Mr Cuffe I speake of the scripture what it was by Gods lawe and I consent in my soule with the judgem(ent) that it was treason: but will you not geve me leave to speake here one said he must not be suffred to speake for he should but p(re)vent him self of other thinges more necessarie and shorten his oxons daies and tyme: there he protested he neither him self mooved nor knewe of anie one that entended to take armes against the Queene. As concerninge the Queene and citie, how of the foure and twentie Aldermen there were assured to the Earle of Essex one and twentie, he meant yt was in lawe and so he assured him self, but not to take armes: and he was sorrie that so manie noblemen and gentlemen were so

(p. 4) ignorantlie drawn into this unfortunate action, hopinge notwithstandinge that the Queene would sparre twentie that were guiltie then condemne one that was innocente: then beinge minotoralie (= minatory) interrupted he fell to praiers then to an excellent and most Xpianlike (: Christian like) confession of his faithe: then to his belief concerninge the scriptures: then to aske pardon of God the Queene and the Countrey, and of all those who were interested in

this matter, but principallie of Sir Henrie Nevill, who was drawn into this unfortunate action by him as an instrument: and thus he com(m)ytted his Soule to God:

(1) abbreviation: and?

(2) abbreviation: ing?

(3) Thomas Grey, 15th Baron Grey de Wilton

Now also follows a comparison of the *Newcastle*-version and the *Biographia...*-version. This last version is longer than the Sutton (Camden) one and suits better for the comparison.

3.5.1 Comparison of the text of Newcastle with the Biographia...

I am come hither to paye my last debt unto Nature, and to suffer the extremitie of Lawe for crimes and to make satisfaction to my God, my Prynce, and my cuntry for my offences nowe I doe constantlie hope and beleeeve as by seeinge the greatnes of my sinnes I perseive the infinitenes of gods Justice so by the greatenes of Gods punishment I iustlie persuaide self of his infinitenesse of Gods mercie. My lordes and *pian (= Christian) bretheren you are here assembled to see us p(re)sented before yo^r (= your) eies as a gazing stocke (= gazingstock: person that is stared at by many people) of deathe and humaine miserie In deed (indeed) yoys (= joys) bitter and fearfull to the fleshe, and reprochefull and ignominious to the world howbeit the testimonie of former tymes, and the examples of other mens miseries proove unto us that the conditions of reproche and infamie of deathe yt self ys co(m)mon to the best sorte of men nay (= no) to the Sainctes of God themselves whom as I shall followe in shame and deathe : so my soul doth (= does) assure me that I shall arise together with them, in glorie and life eternall : but let no man misconstrue (= misunderstand) this my confidence, as though I boasted of my oxone (Oxford) merritts, I doe utterlie disclayme in them, dependinge only upon the precious blood of my saviour Jesus Xhristi : This I should for certaintie, ..^{(1)?} as a principle in Divinitie, and I do knowe suche docto(r)s of Dyvinitie as be here will approve yt, that who soever is temporallie punished, and at the same instance feelles a spirituall comforte inwardlie him doth God chastice (= chastise), as a childe and dothe not punishe him as a Judge

(p. 2) To come to the matter it self for which we must foster deathe everie one knowes of that tumultuous multitude gathered under that great Earle as evill advises in that according as the effect since proved and as Men then thought: as for my self God his Angells and my conscience can testefie for me that I was neither a partie nor anie waie privie (= privy) or consentinge unto it here being interrupted he desired to proceed in his speache and uttered theis wordes that he did beare no parte in that tragedie but he parte of a childe of mourninge and weeping being kepte within doore all the daie longe, *here he was interrupted againe by one sayinge: did not yo^r (= you) yo^r self confesse as you came from the barre, that you were iustlie (justly) condemned:* I did, said he, but not for anie thinge donne the eight of februarye: now for the plott it selfe which never came into action, it consisteth of two partes: the intencon (= intentioning?) ..^{(2)?}: and the meanes how to accomplish the entent of the intencon(ing) ..^{(2)?}: *here he was interrupted againe: by one sayinge: ohhone, (ohone) do you decline from the good of the penitent deathe your Lorde made and now go aboute to justefie yo(ur) self: you must confesse yo(ur) sinne and make satisfaction to the world that you were in staie (in stay =instead) condemned to dye, that yo(u) may better deserve forgiveness of this yo(ur) soule and most traiterous offence both of God and his queene: Here the Lord Graie (= Grey) interrupted him sayinge: this is not tyme for logicall distinctions I am sorrie that those good parts Which God hath bestowed on you and that by yo(ur) owne industrie (p.3) and labo(ur) you have attayned unto, should be thus abused in iustefyinge yo(ur) self: Cuffe off(e)ring to speake, nay pressinge and earne solid requestinge to speake: An other replied unto him: all the Judges have resolved yo(ur) entent was treason and you though not partie in this fact yet because crime to the entent was a principal traitor: and the Earle of Essex in his confession saithe, you were a principal instigator and therefore theise yo(ur) faire wordes are but figge leaves to cover yo(ur) shame and you must knowe that who soever goeth (= got) about to levie (= levy) warre within the Queenes Dominions his head cannot staie upon his shoulders, and the Crowne upon her head together:*

I confesse, quoth Cuffe, that it was wicked and ungodly and nowaie to be warranted, for a dubiest? (= dubious) being in disgrace from her Maiestie presence, to make accesse for him self by force without her licence, nay replied one (.) it is treason in the highest degree: geve (= give) me leave I praie you said Mr Cuffe I speake of the scripture what it as by Gods lawe and I conserve in my soule with the judgem(ent) that it was treason: but will you not geve me leave to speake here one said he must not be suffred? to speake for he should but p(re)vent him self of other thinges more necessarie and shorten his oxons daies and tyme: there he protested he neither him self mooved nor knewe of anie one that intended to take armes against the Queene. As concerninge the Queene and ditie? (= ditto?) how of the foure and twentie Aldermen there were assured to the Earle of Essex one and twentie, he meant yt was in lawe and so he assured him self, but not to take armes: and he was sorrie that so manie noblemen and gentlemen were so (p. 4) ignorantlie drawn into this unfortunate action, hopinge notwithstandinge that the Queene would sparre twentie that were guiltie then condemne one that was innocent: then beinge minotoralie (= minatory) interrupted he fell to praier then to an excellent and most Xpianlike (: Christian like) confession of his faith: then to his belief concerninge the scriptures: then to aske pardon of God the Queene and the Cuntry, and of all those who were interrested in this matter, but principallie of Sir Henrie Nevill, who was drawn into this unfortunate action by him as an instrument: and thus he com(m)ytted his Soule to God:

I am brought hither to pay my due to nature, and to suffer for my sins against God, my Prince, and Country. I doe most firmly beleeeve that, as in beholding the multitude of my sins I see the infinite Justice of God, so by the greatnes of the punishment inflicted on me, I shal feel his infinite mercy. Here are wee a spectacle and example of man's condition. The death which we are to undergoe is terrible (for sweet is life even to the best men), and to us certainly ignominious, but yet common even to the best men, yea, to Gods Saints, with whom I have assured hope of resurrection in Christ. And let not any man thinke by this that I trust to mine owne merits; let them vanish. I put my whole trust and confidence in the precious blood of my Saviour. And I am certainly perswaded that whosoever is punished in this life, and at the same instant feeleth inward confort from heaven, God punisheth him as a father, not as a Judge.

But to come to the cause of my death, there is none but knoweth how confused the tumult was on the 8th of February under that great Earle, little considering the day. I call God, the Angels, and mine owne conscience to witnesse that I was not guilty thereof, but was shut up all the day long within the house, and wept and mourned. As for the designe, it was two-fold...

Here being interrupted and admonished not to delude the truth by distinctions, nor sowe figge-leaves to cover his fault,

I confesse (saith he) that it were a high offence, yea Treason, if a subject cast out of favour and degree of honour should by force and armes make his way to the Queenes Majesty. But I never incited any man to arms against the Queene. But whereas I have brought that Noble Knight Sir Henry Nevill into danger, I am hartily sorry for it, and I earnestly intreat him to forgive mee. And whereas I said that of the 24 Aldermen of London 21 were at the Earles devotion, this I meant of their most favourable affection unto him, and not that they would take armes for him.

Heere being interrupted againe, he fell to most fervent prayer, and having professed most devoutly his faith in God, and craving pardon of God and the Queene, hee ended his life by the halter.

After comparing the above two texts, we may assume that the Newcastle-text is probably older than the one from the *Biographia...* Maybe it is an exact copy of what really happened at the trial! This text renders very well the atmosphere of the court at that time.

3.5.2 *Sir Henry Neville and Robert Devereux (portrait)*

Since Henry Cuffe is much concerned for 'Sir Henry Nevill' in the speeches, a further knowledge about this person is needed. As I reproduce a picture of him, I also join a painting of Robert Devereux, the other important person in his life (*Wikipedia*). I could not find a portrait of Henry Cuffe. We already know a lot about him: his speeches, and his writings (see further), which describe him even better.

Henry Nevill, de facto 9th (de jure 2nd) Baron Bergavenny (b. bef. 1580 – d. c. December 1641) was an English Peer.

Sir Henry Neville (c. 1562 - July 10, 1615) was an English politician, diplomat, courtier and distant relative of William Shakespeare. In 2005, he was put forward as a candidate for the authorship of Shakespeare's works.

After his return he became involved with the plot of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He was stripped of his position and fined £5,000, which he agreed to pay in annual instalments of £1,000. After the death of Elizabeth I of England and the accession of James I a Royal Warrant was issued for his release. Origin of the picture of Neville: taken from http://www.berkshirehistory.com/bios/hneville_1615.html and dated 1615 from an original picture in the collection of Richard Aldworth Neville, Esqr.



Sir Henry Neville
(Source: *Wikipedia*)



Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, after
Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, oil on
canvas, probably 17th century (circa 1596)
(Source: *Wikipedia*)

3.6 Folger speech

The discovery and the origin of this speech are treated on pp. 12-13.

The execu(ti)on of Sr Guelly Merricke and Mr Cuffe at Tiburne on Monday the 8 of Marche 1600 (= 1601)

*To lett passe the private conference of either p(ar)ties in y^e (= the) prison overnight on sondays the most p(ar)te of the night, & on the morninge, they beinge well pr(e)pared to death, beinge com (= come), to the place of execu(ti)on: Sr **Guell(y) Merricke** was purposed before to say little and he showed mee his reason in prison, because sayth hee, I knowe the honn(our) of manie gallants that wil be here, to behold my ende, & to heare my sayinge, that my carriage & my wordes, shal(l) be mucche noted; and it is of them noted, but to give everie man his censure and to make a little table talke. But said he to doctor **Parry** ⁽¹⁾, & my self, yf there bee anie, that doe enquire aft(er) mee, com(m)end mee to them, and bidd them take heed by my fall. I lived of late, in as great jovitie as anie of them, and whilest my Lo(rd) stood, I tooke my pleasure as they nowe doe, but tell them I nowe fynde, that all is but vanitie, which was most hunted after, and the tyme cometh when o(ur) soule loatheth that wee looke most delight in. Beinge com(e) to the place of execu(ti)on Sir **Guell: Merricke** risinge first from the hirdell (= hurdle) takinge Mr **Childerley** ⁽²⁾ and meself close to him, kneeled downe, and uttered in his manner a devout prayer, he rose up & went to the Lords that stood hard by, viz. (= videlicet, namely): **the E(arl) of Northumb(erland)** ⁽³⁾, Lo(rd) **Gray** ⁽⁴⁾, **Compton** ⁽⁵⁾, **North** ⁽⁶⁾, Sr **Tho(mas) Geerard** ⁽⁷⁾. He asked the Queenes Ma(jes)tie forgiveness, thanked her for their honorable & lawfull triall, acknowledged themselves guiltie by the lawe & prayed for her Ma(jes)tie & mounted y^e cart.*

*By this time Mr **Cuffe** was come whoe speakinge to the twoe shiriffs verie earnestlie, y^e favour might be shewed him, that he might have christian buriall, which he begginge three times. I sayd: why Mr **Cuffe**? What yf you have it not? You knowe that the verie heathen man could despite it, and if your bodie have a grave, it will then even tourne (= turn) to rottenes & corrup(ti)on. Hee annswared, well I am content. Then*

(p. 2) he sp(e)ake thus:

(beginning of speech of Cuffe)

*Wee are this daye made a spectacle to God, to Angells, & men, as saith the appostle. And wee are to suffer an ignominious & reproachfuls a death, that besides the p(re)sent terror, leaveth a note of infamy behinde hit, when wee are gonn. And yett, for these outward accidents that happen to the bodie, or the ffleshe, wee fynde they are not other, then suche as wee are taught out of the Booke of God, to have happened to the blessed sonne of God himself, wherefore wee are they more comforted that they make us the more take unto him, and I have held this as a principle of Divinitie and Hope that these devines (= divines, priests) heere will consent unto me that what so ever man shalbe punished w(i)th anie bodilie or corporall affliction, and yet in the midst of his correction fyndeth the p(re)sence of Gods spiritt to comfort him, that man, I saye, is corrected of God as a child of his fath(er), not comdempned, as a reprobate. But concerninge the cause of comminge heth(er) (= hither), there is none of you cann be ignorant of a great tumult made in the cittie of London by an honorable p(er)son of w(hi)ch action my conscience soe little accuseth mee. As I dare p(ro)nounce my self innocent, ffor I hadd no part in that dayes action, but a childe part, to crie & lament. Heere he was interrupted by Mr **Wilbram** (Wilbraham?) ⁽⁸⁾ & the Lords askinge him, yf he came thither to make his justifica(ti)on. But after manie words, he wronge out of their opposition, and p(ro)ceeded: But more I confesse, there was a plott in deed, & therein I had a hand, & hereof I acknowledge my self guiltie, but w(i)th all that I had no disloyall hart against her*

Ma(jes)tie. Interrupted againe, & even of this plott there was nothinge effected. Muche interrupted & told that it had been shewed him, that action w(i)thout beinge privie to the plott and plottinge w(i)thout execu(ti)on, was treason. I acknowledge that yo(ur) lawes (p. 3) have found it treason, the statutes are soe. I consent unto it, I confesse my self heerein a traytor. I aske God forgivenes, and her Ma(jes)tie forgivenes, & the nobles, whoe thinke themselves iniured thereby and the wholee state. Of w(hi)ch plott I will speake ij (= 2) things: the inten(ti)on or ende thereof, the meanes to bringe the ende to passe. The inten(ti)on wee fynde (thoughe wee knowe not soemuche before) had no warrant out of the word of God. The meanes to be used beinge violent weere althogeth(er) indignous & ungodlie. Heer a gentleman speake to him, conc(er)inge Sr **Henry Nevill** ⁽⁹⁾, tellinge Mr **Cuffe**, that he hadd donn verie ill offices of a frinde, to that worthy gentleman, whoe had cause to curse the tyme, that ever he sawe his hedd, and much more. I acknowledge, said hee, that I was the unhappie instrum(en)t to bringe that honorable gentleman to this distresse. I aske God in p(ar)ticular most hartie forgivenes & I aske him (= Sr **Henry Nevill**) forgivenes. Heere the shiriffe of London asked why he used suche speech to Sr **Henry Nevill**, that 24 Aldermen ⁽¹⁰⁾ of the cittie, he was sure of 21. Uppon what ground spake you those words? I p(ro)test (sayd hee) before the Ma(jes)tie of God, that I meant not that they should beare armes in the defence of my Lord. But I spake onlie of the love & affection. I had allwaies heard that the cittie of London did beare my Lo(rd). Yet they urged him uppon what ground or notice he should speake so liberallie of them, yf (said hee) I should have spoken uppon anie ground or notice that I hadd. I protest: I knowe not of anie twoe, nott of one, that certeinlie p(ro)mised anie aide.

Heere beinge bidden to p(re)pare himself to death, he made an exellent prayer, kneelinge downe in y^e cart, a prayer that whoe shall take uppon him to repeat, shall but doe him iniurie in falsifyinge his words, zeale or pow(er) of speeche, and I will not repeat yt. The prayer ended. He said, it is meete also, that a man at this tyme do rend(er) an accompt (= account) of his faith. Ffirst therefore for the scripture, I have ev(er) reputed the cannonycale (= canonical) scriptures of the newe & old

(p. 4) testam(en)t, as the verie word of God, and I have accompted (= accounted?) these as St August(inus) sayeth: Deliciae meae, my sweete delight. And I have prayed w(i)th the same St August(inus): ut neq(ue) fallar in ijs neque fallam ex ijs (= let me not be deceived in them, nor deceive others from them). And as the appostles creed, I acknowledge it an exell(en)t som(m)e of christian religion, havinge warrant & testimonie out of the scriptures newe & old. And I acknowledge the p(re)session (= precision) of faith mayntained. These manie veaces (= faces?) by the church of England to bee most sinceere & sounde, & the churche, the true churche, and through my beleef in that faith. I hope I am one of the nomber of those whom God the father in Christ Jesus hath elected before the beginninge of the world to salva(ti)on. Other eioacula(ti)ons (= ejaculations) of prayer weere briefly uttered, while the rope was fitted. His last words were: In manus tuas domine (= into your hands, Lord).

(end of speech of Cuffe)

Duringe Mr **Cuffe** speeche Sr **Guell(ey) Merricke** made a protesta(ti)on against her Ma(jes)tie from w(hi)ch he was driven by Mr **Pasfield** ⁽¹¹⁾ w(hi)ch drive him to confesse, that tooke whatsoev(er) eith(er) the first plott had sett downe, or whatsoev(er) anie opposi(ti)on against thexecution (= the exexution) thereof, should have required so would have acted w(i)th my Lo(rd).

And looke whatsoev(e)r my Lord woulde have undertaken. He would have made one w(i)thout all exception.

But his Lo(rd) still affirmed unto him, in all his conferences, that he would attempt nothinge, but what might bee warranted w(i)th good conscience, ffrom this he was beaten by Mr **Pasfield** and confessed that his Lo(rd) might erre & bee misledd in takinge for lafull (= lawful) that was unlawfull.

(in margin of this MS is written on this place in the same hand-writing:

"Some say & it is most likelie, this was M^r Cuffe speech") ⁽¹²⁾

Heere he called the **E(arl) of Northumb(erland)** & p(ro)tested before God, that both his breethren (= fellow members: **Christopher Blount** ⁽¹³⁾ and **Charles Danvers** ⁽¹⁴⁾?) were verie innocent & drawen but that morninge into the action.

Hee called to Sr **Thomas Gerrard** ⁽⁷⁾ & desired him to certifie to the Lords of the counsell & the Crowene, that the Lo(rd) **Monioy** ⁽¹⁵⁾ nowe in Ireland, was alltogeth(er) ignorant of anie p(ar)te of anie the least notice of

(p. 5) anie p(ar)te of the plott or action. And so in his conscience he held him, an honorable lloyall & noble gentleman as anie in England w(hi)ch hee the rather spake because he hadd been examined about suche a matt(er). He called the Ll(ord)s there p(re)sent & said hee most hartilie wished that her Ma(jes)tie would make an end of her Justice in their deathes & that mercie might be shewed to all others, called in questio(ning) about this action. Ffor God (he knowes) q^d (= quid, why?) hee, howe manie innocent gentlemen have been drawen in ignorantlie.

They died very Christianlie/ and weare suffred to hange, longe after death/ before they weere quartered.

(1) Rev. Roger Parry, Rector of Hinton-Ampner (d. 1634).

(2) John Childerley, (1565-1645), was recorded as a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford in 1579. (?)

(3) Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (27 April 1564 – 5 November 1632) acquired by his marriage to Dorothy Devereux (sister of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex) in 1594.

(4) Thomas Grey, 15th Baron Grey de Wilton.

(5) William Compton, 1st Earl of Northampton KG (died 24 June 1630), known as Lord Compton from 1589 to 1618, was an English peer.

(6) Dudley North, 3rd Baron North (1581 – January 16, 1666) was an English nobleman. (?)

(7) Sir Thomas Gerrard (1584-1630). Sir Thomas Gerard, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London after an attempt to rescue Mary, Queen of Scots.

(8) Raphe Wilbraham to Sir Robert Cecil (letter, 1598, July 19). Died after 1623.

(9) Henry Nevill, see chapter 3.5.2.

(10) Alderman, see note page 22.

(11) A Mr Pasfield is also mentioned as a confessor in the trial of Captain Lee, see *Cobbett's complete collection of state trials* ..., Volume 1, 1816, p. 1410.

(12) At the right of the remark in margin is written the remainder of the speech of Guelley Meyrick and not of Cuffe (see at the beginning of p. 5: *him, an honorable lloyall & noble gentleman*...,; Cuffe was not of noble birth).

(13) Sir Christopher Blount (c. 1556 - 18 March 1601) was an English military officer and rebel. After the Earl of Leicester's death he married the Dowager Countess, Lettice Knollys, mother of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.

(14) Sir Charles DANVERS (also DAVERS, see p. 29), born: 1568, Dauntsey, Wiltshire, England, died: 18 Mar 1601. Eldest son of Sir John Danvers of Dauntsey. He was tried with Cuffe and others on 5 Mar, admitted his guilt, and was beheaded on Tower Hill together with Blount on 18 Mar. Camden writes: 15th of March (two days later of Cuffe and Merrick).

(15) Charles Blount (pronounced 'Blunt'), 8th Baron Mountjoy and 1st Earl of Devonshire (1563 –1606).

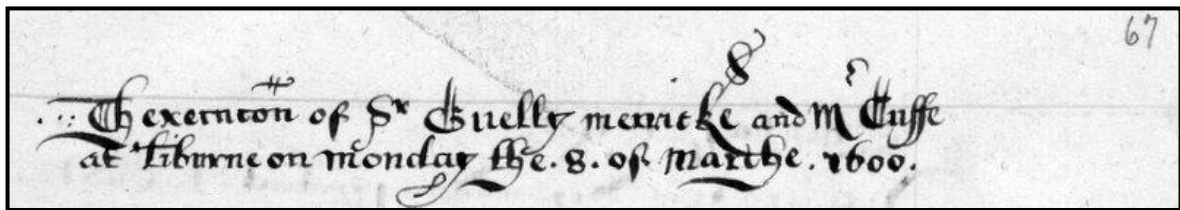
Comment

This document proves again that Cuffe had a deep belief in Christian faith ('*christian buriall*'). He was certainly not selfish: his last thoughts were for his 'breethren' and 'Nevill'. Is this the very original speech? The date is **8th of March 1600** (Gregorian calendar = 18th of March 1601). Why are there so many different dates of his death? We already have **25 February 1601** (Gregorian calendar, see A & V Palmer, p. 9). Turtle Bunbury, p. 10, states: '25th February 1601 (...) ten days later' = **8th of March**. Camden writes: **13th of March 1600**

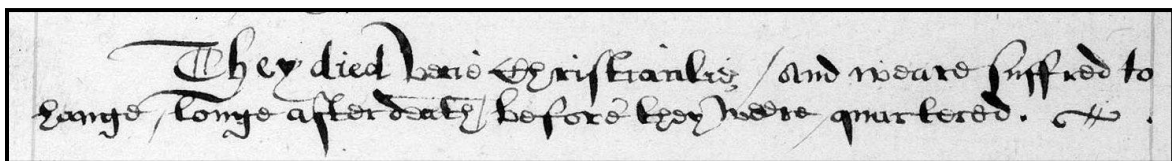
(see p. 27). I found another date of his death in the BL: **30 March 1601** (see BL MS 983. 4to – Vol. XLIX of *Bishop Kennett's Collections: containing Biographical Memoranda from A.D. 1600 to A.D. 1620*, fo. 15). White Kennett (August 1660–1728) was an English bishop and antiquarian. Bishop Thomas Tanner also wrote: dedit **30 Martii MDCI** (dedit [Latin]: 'as I think'), see p. 18. In a French biography dictionary (*Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*), 1813, p. 533 (see my *Genealogie van Cuffez en varianten Coffez en Couffez*, Vol. III, p. 63) is also mentioned **30th of March 1601**.

Another remark: Meyrick was a knight of the shire of Pembrokeshire in 1597 ('Sir' Merrick), according to Hammer in his text on Meyrick in the DNB. At his death on **13 March 1601** (see p. 16), 'he was *allowed* to die by strangulation'. Did he prefer the hanging instead of the axe? The text of the Folger MS is certainly written in old English, but when? How long after his death? Certainly before 1752. Nevertheless, it is a very valuable document.

Which is now the correct date? We hesitate between the 8th and the 13th. Is it possible that for the first print-version of the original Latin text of Camden was read 'XIII' instead of 'VIII'? As we do not have the original written manuscript of Camden and we do have a copy of the Folger MS (see below), where it is clearly stated that it was on the **8th of March 1600**, = **18th of March 1601** (Gregorian) maybe we should take this date for his death.



The final lines cited by Alan Stewart (pp. 11 and 35):



They died very Christianlie/ and weare suffred to hange, longe after death/ before they weere quartered.

Folger Library (Washington, D.C.)

(photo by the author 20/10/2012)



4 Henry Cuffe after his condemnation (State Trials)

How reacted Cuffe upon his condemnation? We find an answer in the *State Trials* (Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 1449-50):

Cuffe confessed the jury had done but right, in discharging their consciences; yet it was true that Divines (= priests) held, *condempnatum cum aliquando faciunt quem dampnatum non faciunt [once they condemned those they did not condemn (before)]*. The gracious proceeding afforded, and all reasonable requests yielded, emholdeneth me to make some small request: When I was restrained, I had not about me above two shillings. I had 350l. (£) of ready money seized upon in my chamber. When I came into the Tower, I was put into a dark place: but afterwards Mr. Lieutenant pitying me, relieved me, and put me in a better place. Wherefore I pray to be returned unto the same prison, for there I am now provided of things necessary: otherwise perhaps I may be caring for things of this world for necessary succour of life, when as I would now more willingly spend all my thoughts in other meditations.—[This request was granted]—My second request is to you, Mr. Secretary, that I may have the company of some divine repairing to me for the comfort of my soul, and crucifying of my flesh, that so at my farewell to this world with joyful arms I may embrace my Saviour; and for human respects, I desire the law may be satisfied with my life, without torturing or quartering my flesh; and the rather for favour's sake unto learning, though I have neither place nor great birth to speak for that. To plead for longer or other mercy I will not; but when my body shall be executed, sorrow be unto my soul, if ever I intended evil unto her majesty's person. Alas! it was my too much love unto my master that brought me unto this; but as that earl, my master, said, now the scales were taken from his eyes, and he saw his faults; so do I, but too late; heretofore in the course of my private state, things went so smoothly with me as I could desire; my religion was always sorting to the profession at this day. Some further things I would utter, but I desire to know whether now I must speak, or that, I may be allowed pen and paper to write them hereafter.

It was allowed he should have means to write what he would.

Here ended all that passed before Judgment.

At the end of his life, imprisoned in the tower, he got some privileges. He was allowed to write letters in relatively good circumstances.

5 Letter to Lord Burghley 1601 (Stowe)

Worthy to mention is the long letter which he wrote to Lord Burghley after his condemnation (BL Stowe 145 f. 12-15vo), maybe his last letter? Who was 'Lord Burghley'?

Sir Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, (1 June 1563, 24 May 1612), was the son of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley. After his education at St John's College, Cambridge, Salisbury was made Secretary of State following the death of Sir Francis Walsingham in 1590, and he became the leading minister after the death of his father in 1598, serving both Queen Elizabeth and King James as Secretary of State.

The text is one of the copies of the original letter and completely transcribed by me. Mrs. Knapp of Grantham helped me in the transcription and she wrote me the following concerning the purpose of the letter (27/05/05):

I hope this won't upset you, but the letters appears (to be as a historian) as an attempt to save Mr Cuffe's neck from the axe – a typical plea like this when he was afraid of being executed).

Now follows the complete letter, which of the content I will not comment, except for one affirmation at the end:

Cuffe (Henry), Secretary to the Earle of Essex, letter to Lord Burghley – Stowe 145, fol. 12-15vo

Henry Cuffe, Secretary to the Earle of Essex. His letter to Mr. Secretary Cecill (Burghley) declaring the effect of the instructions framed by the Earle of Essex and delivered to the Ambassador of the Kinge of Scotts touching his title to the Crowne of England which was written after Cuffes Condemnation.

(f. 12vo) Itt is now high tyme, that he whome a publique Justice hath pronounced the child of death, should with the soonest lay aside all cares of this life reserving himselfe only for that, wit the only author of life hath honoured with this testimoine that "unum est necessariu(m)" = one is necessary): for the better attending whereof and for avoyding all future worldly distractions. I have resolved uppon your honour's commandement to performe this last dutie by writing what of late I have of ten wished to have tend(e)red to your honour, by word of mouth.

Att the tyme of my last examination in this house, it pleased your honour to demand of me the sum(me) of theis (= this) instrucion (= instruction?) with my late Lord and M(aste)r had made reddie (= ready) against the coming of the Scottish Ambabasadores whome he daylie expected being at that tyme wholly possessed with exceeding greise (= grace). I could yeild (= yield) your honour and the rest of their loppes (?) very smale satisfaccon. In regard whereof I have ever since much desired some private acces se to your honour. But being utterly out of hope of soe greate a favor and being now called on by Mr. Liuetennant

(f. 13) to performe my promise made unto your honour at the tyme of my condemnation, I have thought it necessary to present unto you the effect of theis instrucons observing as neere (= far) as my memory will serve me the very wordes and method of the originall it selfe.

(in margine: Instructions for the Earle of Marre)

That the Kinge his M(aster) thought it necessary to beseech her Maiestie to declare his right to the succession of this Crowne, not because that he observed in her Maiestie any want of princ(e)ly favour and affeccion (= affection) towards him but because he hath found by infallible truth proufe. That some very gracious with her Maiestie, being of extraordinairie both power and malice, will not faile one daie (= day) if God permitt it, not to make their advantages of the uncertaintie of succession not only to the p(re)judice but also to the evident hazard and almost inevitable ruine (= ruin) of the whole island. For proof of their power there needeth no longe discourse. All meanes in all portes and quarters of the realme being in a manner wholly in their handes. In the

(f. 13vo) West Sir Walter Rawleigh commanding the uttermost province, where he may assure the Spaniard his first landing, if that course be held fittest, being also captaine of the Isle of Gersey (= Jersey), there to harbour them upon any firtt occasion.

In the East the cinqueportes (= Sandwich; Dover; Hythe; Romney and Hastings) where the kayes (= keys) of the realme are in the handes of Cobham, and likewise the comitie of Kent the next and directed way to the imperiall cittie of this realme. The Treasure the Sinewes (= sinew, power) of State, and the navy, the walles of the realme, being commanded by the Lord Treasuror and the Lord Admirall, both the greate officers of State, and the rest above named being principally loved by the principall secretary Sir Robert Cecill who for the further strength(en)ing of himselfe hath established his owne brother the Lord Burghleigh in the North partes government (Gouvernement of the North Parts) and in the presidentshipp of Walles (= Wales) now voyd (= void) will undoubtedly place some body who shall undoubtedly acknowledge it for him, as likewise in Ireland he hath alreddy (accordingly) procured for Sir George Carew that province which of all other is the fittest for the Spanish designes in

(f. 14) whose handes if the commander himselfe may be beleived there is a greater army then he needeth to omitt that the sayd Sir George Carew is shortly in expectation to succede in the goverment of that whole kingdome uppon th recalling of the new Lord Deputy (Montjoy). That the Malice towards the Kinge was no lesse then their power (it appeares).

First that some of them had given direct prooffe of their ill affecccon by ill offices and this point was left to the Ambassadors because that the Earle of Essex was enformed that the King was able to produce cleere evidence thereof.

Secondly because all their counsellis and endeavours tended to the advancement of the Infanta to the succession of this crowne which point was confirmed by nine argumentes.

First, their continuall and excessive commanding of the excellent yes of the Infanta and seeking by all meanes to breede both in her Maiesty and (in) all others an extraordinary

(f. 14vo) good opinion of her.

Secondly the earnest seeking to revive the Treatie latly broken notwithstanding it was interrupted by the Spaniard not without some disadvantage offered to the crowne.

Thirdly the speech of a principall councillour and as I remember he sayd, he meant it of your honour to an honourable personage that though he knewe there could no some paece be made betwixt (= between) us and Spaine yet for the better compas(s)ing of some purposes, he could be willing to entertaine the Treaty againe. Fowerthly the slacke and easy hand that hath bene latly sorryed towards the preistes (= priests) of the Jesuituall faction of all others the most pernicious which can have no other interpretation then that the Popish faction flourishing (= favouring) the Infanta which are as many as the Jesuits can p(re)vaile with might depend on them as on their cheife protectour.

Fiftly the Infantas title to be better then the title of any other competitor to the crowne.

Sixthly the speech of the Lord Treasurour who uppon newes that the Archduke was hurte and (f. 15) as some though(t) slaine in the last yeares battaile at Newporte, answered that he were slaine he thought her Maiesty had lost one of her best freindes.

Seavently the alteraccon of their proceedings with Allabaster and one Rolestone (?), who have ever found more favour since they professed themselves of the Spanish ffaction. Two more reasons there were which I cannot nowe call to minde. Whether among so many other matters of importance wherewith he latly acquainted your honour and the rest of your loppes (= Lords?) any of these reasons and instructions were by him remembred (I know not) only because your honour and your Lordshippe did at that tyme e(a)rnestly presse(d) me to deliver some of them. I have endeavo(u)red to give your honour the best satisfaction I could being verily persuaded that this abstract in sence (= sense) is very little differed from the first draught.

Of mine owne perticular being in lesse destitute of hope the comforte in this world I dare say nothinge, only I beseech your honour lett it not be thought presumption to add thus much in generall. That if the Kinge of Kinges (= Christ)

(f. 15vo) thought it fitt for his glory, when he found least merritt, to extend his greatest grace. Your honour will accompt (= account) it in smale (= small) resemblance of that divine patterne, if his Royall Liuetennants and their ministers uppon earth having layd prostrate humble offendo(urs) at the feete (= feet) of Justice, shalle content to surrender upp the sword of Justice into the handes of mercie.

Thus must humbly beseeching your honour to vouchsaaffe (= vouchsafe) me your favourable opinion at my last farewell out of **this miserable world**. I rest

Your honours most humble and most distressed supplyant

H. Cuffe

I give now another comment by Mrs. Knapp, on Henry Cuffe, as being a secretary (21/06/05):

Essex certainly overstepped himself, and it is generally accepted that he caused his fate in attempting to take the Crown of England from its rightful owner, i.e. Elizabeth.

Poor Henry Cuffe, being Secretary to Essex and privy to all his private and public correspondence, was accepted in those times as being part of the planned rebellion. If you want

my opinion I would say that Cuffe was caught in the middle. He was a servant of the earl and therefore should be loyal and discreet. But should he have betrayed the earl when he knew what was being planned?? I suppose in modern terms we would accept that he should have gone to the authorities and told them what Essex was planning. But the way people thought and acted 400 years ago is quite different. Either way, Cuffe would have been imprisoned, and very much despised. If you can't trust your Secretary who can you trust??

To come back to my only comment I intend to make on the Stowe letter. At the end of his letter he put the following:

*(...) Thus must humbly beseeching your honour to vouchsafte me your favourable opinion at my last farewell out of this **miserable** world.*

It is normal that he is gravely disillusioned after his condemnation (not even 40 years old), but he had a very interesting life in regarding to his companions of lower birth. An excerpt out of his biography:

However, born of low birth, he was elected a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford in May 1578, aged 15.

He proceeded BA in 1580 and was elected a fellow of his college in May 1583.

He took his MA degree in February 1589.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford University in 1592 Cuffe delivered a Latin speech of welcome at Carfax.

In 1596 Cuffe and Wotton accompanied Essex on his expedition to Cadiz.

In 1597 Essex sent Cuffe on a mission to Florence (October 1597 – March 1598). This trip enabled him to **enjoy** the sort of continental tour which was becoming de rigueur for Elizabethans who laid claim to cultural and intellectual sophistication.

He transcribed a Greek work in the Vatican library in Rome.

He was in Paris in June and July 1598.

In September 1598 he was sent back to Paris to meet the earl of Southampton.

He accompanied Essex in early 1599 in Ireland.

He had the possibility of writing intellectual works, which probably gave him a lot of satisfaction.

He was rich: his will optimistically contained bequests totalling over £2000.

He was a strong believer, protestant, puritan, which certainly helped him a lot during his last moments.

Maybe his life was too short, but it was an exciting one, and not so miserable. Mozart died at the age of 35!

6 Cuffe in performance

6.1 Cuffe in opera

Essex is well-known in history, especially in his relation to Queen Elizabeth I. To-day he is present in music, opera, on stage, film and TV (see Essex in *Wikipedia*). Since the subject of this paper is Cuffe, I found him in Benjamin Britten's 1953 opera *Gloriana*, which is based on Lytton Strachey's *Elizabeth and Essex*:

Gloriana, England, later years of Elizabeth I's reign

opus 53 - Opera in 3 acts (William Plomer after Lytton Strachey's Elizabeth and Essex) - 1953

First performance: 8 June 1953 - Joan Cross, Peter Pears, Monica Sinclair, Jennifer Vyvyan, Geraint Evans, Frederick Dahlberg, Arnold Matters, Inia Te Wiata - Covent Garden

Queen Elizabeth I soprano

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex tenor

Frances, Countess of Essex mezzo-soprano

Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy baritone

Penelope, Lady Rich soprano

Sir Robert Cecil baritone

Sir Walter Raleigh bass

Henry Cuffe baritone

Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen soprano

Blind Ballad Singer baritone

Spirit of the masque tenor

Master of Ceremonies tenor

City Crier tenor

6.2 Cuffe on stage

In December 2004 I found in the card catalogue of our national library (KB) in Brussels - at my great surprise - a play about Essex in Dutch of 1739! Title: *De Waerachtige tragedie van Robert D'Evreux, de Grave van Essex...*, Lambrecht Bertus, Maastricht, 1739, 4p. I could copy it from the microfilm MIC LP 4216, 1174758. On this microfilm were also other Dutch tragedies. It was performed for by a chamber of rhetoric in Sint-Truiden, a Belgian city, on the market-place in the open air, on September the 1st, 1739.

Henry Cuf(f) appears three times in it. See the photocopy of the text and the transcription of the pages hereafter (in bold characters in the transcription):

(p.2) Den Heer Grave SAUTHAMPTON(3) met de Heeren MERRICK(4) en **CUF** verstaen hebbende het affront aen den Grave van ESSEX geschiedt, sigh beklagende, dat sy niet meer gelijk als voor desen in't Hof geestimeert waeren, besluyten den Vrede met Spagnien te beletten, ende om des te vryer met malkanderen over de saecke te spreken, trecken naer eene Herberge, genaemt *De Stadt Mantua*, alwaer sy eenige Articulen ende Puncten opstellen ende teeckenen : ondertusschen besluyt MERRICK naer Spagnien te trecken.

Translation:

The earl of Sauthampton (Southampton) and Sirs Merrick (Meyrick) and **Cuf**, who understand that the earl of Essex was affronted (by the Queen), were complaining that they were not longer estimated at the (Royal) court, and decide they will prevent the peace negotiations with Spain. In order to deliberate at ease about this incident, they go to the tavern *The City of Mantua* (Drury House?), where they elaborate a plan. Meanwhile Merrick decide to go to Spain.

I could not find a statement that he went to Spain in the long biography on Sir Gelly Meyrick (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004). In this biography is written that 'he was *allowed* to die by strangulation'. Also Cuffe? They were executed the same day (March 18th, 1601). The biography is also made by Paul E.J. Hammer.

(p. 4) Den Grave SAUTHAMPTON met MERRICK en **CUF** gevangen zynde, worden voor de Koninginne gebracht, welcke sigh beklagen over hunnen handel, biddende om genade, wordt de selve hun geweygert, eyndelijck geeft de Koninginne last aen CECILE om hun Vonnis te maecken.

Translation:

The earl of Sauthampton with Merrick and **Cuf** being arrested, are brought before the Queen. They complain of their behaviour and implore for mercy, but this is refused. Finally the queen orders Cecile to sentence them.

Third mentioning:

(p. 4, id.) V E R T O O N I N G E, waer MERRICK en **CUFF** gevonnist zynde, gehangen worden, zynde de saecke van SAUTHAMPTON noch niet gedecideert.

Translation:

Scene where Merrick and **Cuff**, already judged, are hanged. The sentence of Sauthampton is not decided yet.

In February 1601 Southampton was sentenced to death. Cecil obtained the commutation of the penalty to imprisonment for life. The statement in the play is relatively correct.

In the well-known play of Corneille (1678) are Meyrick and Cuffe not mentioned at all! The Dutch play is more historically correct. Voltaire wrote in his comments on the play of Corneille that the love-story between Essex and the Queen (68 years!) was exaggerated and that this was done in order to render the play more attractive.

In this play we also have a kind of Romeo-Julia love-affair. The Queen loves Essex dearly, but cannot rescue him because of her position as head of the state.

There was already a Dutch version of the play in the 1620s. This play of 1739 is based on Corneille (1678) because of the presence of the 'duchess of Irton' and of 'Crommer' as captain of the guards (see at the end of page 3 and note 12 on page 4). 'Tilney' is also mentioned but as a female confidant of the Queen. In the Dutch play is 'Tilney' an earl and a friend of

Plain text of the photocopy of the 4 pages (by means of OCR)

DE WAERACHTIGE TRAGEDIE
VAN
ROBERT D'EVREUX
GRAVE VAN ESSEX,
Groot Maerschalck van Engellant door Hooghmoet gedreven,
TEGENS
ELISABETH
KONINGINNE VAN ENGELANDT,

Geconspireert, ende haer Hof binnen Londen bestormt hebbende,
wordt daerom (door het Groot Parlement gevonnist zynde)
Anno 1601 binnen den Tour aldaer door het Byl gesnevelt.

OP DEN REGEL.
Hy wiert verheven
Om swaerder val te geven

SAL SPEEL-WYS VERTOONT WORDEN
Door de Konst-minnende ende Reden-rycke Camer, genaemt den HONIGH-VL0EYENDE
OLYF-TACK, sigh Schryvende
GODTS GEEST VERLICHT

Binnen de Ryxer Stadt SINT TRUYDEN op Dynsdagh den 1 September 1739.
Publijckelijck op den Grooten Merckt, ten 1. ure precies.

OPGEDRAGEN
Aen de Achtbaere, Voorsichtige, ende Constminnende Hooft-Man, Prince,
ende andere Leden des Gerichte der voorschreve Reder-rycke Camere.

TOT MAESTRICHT,
By LAMBERT BERTUS, Stadts-drucker, omtrent de P.P. Predlck-heeren 1739

(p. 2)

BALLET

VOOR-REDEN

Met ses VERTOONINGEN, verbeeldende den Inhoudt van de Tragedie.

EERSTE DEEL.

EERSTEN UYTGANCK.

ELISABETH Koninginne van Engelandt met de Graven van ESSEX, SALSBURY (1), WORCESTER (2), ende andere Heeren van het groot Parlement raedt staende, om met Spagnien den Vrede aen te gaen, wordt sulx door den Graeve van ESSEX ten hooghsten ontraeden, welken hoorende dat de Koninginne, met veele andere Heeren daer toe genegen waeren (vergetende syne schuldige plicht) in scheldtwoorden uytvalt, de Koninginne versmaedelijk toespreekt, den rugge keert, ende eenige woorden binnens monds mompelende, geeft sy hem een soufflet aen d'ooren, welck hy sweert te sullen wrecken.

1. BYKOMSTE. Den Heer Grave SAUTHAMPTON (3) met de Heeren MERRICK (4) en CUF verstaen hebbende het affront aen den Grave van ESSEX geschiedt, sigh beklagende, dat sy niet meer gelijk als voor desen in't Hof geestimeert waeren, besluuten den Vrede met Spagnien te beletten, ende om des te vryer met malkanderen over de saecke te spreken, trecken naer eene Herberge, genaemt *De Stadt Mantua*, alwaer sy eenige Articulen ende Puncten opstellen ende teecken : ondertusschen besluyt MERRICK naer Spagnien te trecken.

VERTOONINGE,

*Alwaer MERRICK (vertreckende naer Spagnien) van den Grave van ESSEX,
ende d'andere Bondgoten syn afscheyt nemt .*

2. *Uytganck.* De Hertoginne van SAUTHAMPTON (5) gewesene Meesteresse, ende groote Vriendinne van ESSEX verstaen hebbende des selfs handel ende muyterye, naer eenige redenkavelinge met ELEONORA (6) Suster van ESSEX, besluuten hem toe te gaen, om hem van de selve te doen afstaen.

VERTOONINGE,

Alwaer de Koninginne eene Brief uyt Madrid ontfanght, ontdeckende de Muyterye met de Bondtgenoten.

3. *Uytganck.* De Muyterye ende de Bondtgenooten aen de Koninginne ontdekt zynde, wordt in den vollen Raedt aen ESSEX verweten syne ontrouw, ende dat hy aen synen Eedt ende Plicht overlange hadde gemanckeert, ondertusschen geeft de Koninginne order aen den grooten Cancellor, van den Criminelen Raedt te vergaderen, lastende de Graven ESSEX ende SAUTHAMPTON voor een wyl sigh uyt den Raedt te retireren : eenige van den Raedt ondertusschen de Koninginne styvende ; om de Muyters, naer verdiensten, te doen straffen.

VERTOONINGE,

Alwaer MERRICK uyt Spagnien wedergekeert zynde, van ESSEX met de Syne wort verwillekomt,

VERTOONINGE,

Alwaer den Grave van ESSEX (met gewapende Mannen) het Paleys der Koninginne bestormt.

4. *Uytganck.* Den Grave van ESSEX vol gramschap, op syne Daden ende Vroomheyt stoeffende, tracht sigh by den Grave van SALSBURY te ontschuldigen, hem voorhoudende dat hy het Paleys der Koninginne bestormt hadde door de Liefde die hy tot de Hertoginne van SAUTHAMPTON hadde, welke hy (haer Houwelijk verstaen hebbende) met geweld vermeynde daer uyt te krygen.

II. BYKOMSTE. Ondertusschen de Hertoginne van IRTON by komende, beklaeght sigh ESSEX over haere ontrouw, welke (niettegenstaende haere Trouw) aen hem belooft in haere voorige Liefde tot hem altyt te sullen leven, versoeckende de selve, dat hy met allen oodmoet de Koninginne soude trachten te bevredigen.

(p. 3)

III. *BYKOMSTE*. Den Grave van CECILE (7) komt door bevel der Koninginne ESSEX kondigen, dat hy figh moet voor haeren Troon begeven, om sigh te verantwoorden over syne Muyterye, en het geweld aen haer Paleys gedaen, welcken hy (vol rasernye met scheldtwoorden) is toesprekende, waer naer den Grave van CECILE tot des selfs verderf ende onderganck besluit te wercken.

5. *Uytganck*. De Koninginne hebbende de Princesse van SUFFOLCK (8) (vermeynende ESSEX op de selve verliefte te zyn) met haeren Broeder in Ballingschap gesonden, beklaeght haer over de groote Liefde die sy tot hem is dragende sonder wederliefde van hem te genieten. Den Grave van TILNEY (9), ESSEX Dapperheyt aen de Koninginne voorstellende, tracht hem daer door in genade te brengen.

IV. *BYKOMSTE*. De Hertoginne van SAUTHAMPTON tot de Koninginne komende, wilt haer versekeren van ESSEX Trouwen Eerbiedt, seggende ondertusschen dat hy sigh ten hooghsten was beklagende over de souflet die hy onnoosel in vollen Raed hadt moeten verdragen, ende over al den laster die de Vorstin hem door syn haters aendede, ende onder andere redenkavelingen tracht ESSEX in genade te doen ontfangen.

V. *BYKOMSTE*. CECILE komt de Koninginne aenmelden, hoe dat men naer ryp ondersoek de feyten van ESSEX met de Syne bevonden heeft waerachtigh te zyn: Doch de Hertoginne van SAUTHAMPTON seght CECILE syn haeter te wesen, gevende de Koninginne ondertusschen last om instantelijck den Raedt te vergaderen, welck de Hertogin (doch vruchteloos) tracht te beletten.

BALLET.

TWEEDE DEEL.

EERSTEN UYTGANCK.

ESSEX ende SAUTHAMPTON In achterdocht wesende, oft hun Complot mochte ontdeekt wesen, willen de selve (dien niet tegenstaende) in hun voornemen voortsvaeren, sigh beklagende over d'affront aen hem geschiedt, besonderlyck dat de Koninginne hun soo schandigh hadt uyt den Raedt gesonden, nemende ondertusschen SAUTHAMPTON van ESSEX syn afscheyt.

I. *BYKOMSTE*. De Koninginne verklaert aen ESSEX, de reden van synen handel, aen hun bekent te wesen, hy tracht sigh te ontschuldigen, ende de Koninginne, naer eene soete vernaevinge, biedt hem syn vryheydt, welcke hy obstinatelijck weygert te aanveerden.

II. *BYKOMSTE*. De Hertoginne van SAUTHAMPTON tracht ESSEX met alle vrindelijckheyt van syn voornemen af te trekken, doch blijft (door hooghmoet gestyft) even trots ende obstinaet.

III. *BYKOMSTE*. De Hertoginne (voor de tweede reyse tot ESSEX Komende) houdt hem syn Kroonsucht ende Verraedt voor, welcke oock met ELEONORA Gravinne van ESSEX hem trachten te bewegen om syne fouten te bekennen, ende hy alles ontkennende toont hem de Koninginne synen eygen Brief, ende den selven hem voorgelesen zynde, ontkent met groore hertneckigheydt den selven geschreven te hebben.

2. *Uytganck*. MERRICK van Madrid wedergekeert zynde, toont aen ESSEX ende d'andere Bontgenooten het Contract, door hem met *Don Pedro* (10) *de Coral* gemaect, welck door hun gelesen zynde, vraeght SAUTHAMPTON, wie hem last gegeven had om soodanigh Contract te maecken ende sigh uyt het Complot willende trekken, beschuyten ESSEX met de andere hun voornemen uyt te wercken,

3. *Uytganck*. De Gravinne van ESSEX met de Hertoginne van SAUTHAMPTON verstaen hebbende hoe den Raedt ESSEX met de Syne wilt doen in versekeringe nemen, beklagen des selfs ongeval, beschuytende in aller spoedt hem toe te gaen, om hem noch eens te spreken.

4. *Uytganck*. Den Heer HAUWARD (11), Connestable van den Thoren komt met den Capiteyn CROMMER (12) ende des Koninginne Lijfwacht in het Huys van ESSEX, hem aenseggende dat hy door Bevel der Koningin gekomen was, om hem van syn Degen te ontblooten ende te vangen, welcken hy eerst weygert, doch eyndelijck afleghet ende overgeeft, wordende alsoo naer den Bloedt-raedt (die reets vergadert was) gebracht.

5. *Vytganck*. ESSEX nu voor den Bloedt-raedt staende, worden hem syne feyten voorgesteld, waer en tegens hy vruchteloos is antwoordende, raeckende ondertusschen met den Grave van CECILE in een lasterlijck geschil, wordt hy eyndelijck door de Lijfwacht van daer naer den Thoren gebracht!

MUSICAEL GESANGH

(p. 4)

DERDE DEEL

EERSTEN UYTGANCK

De Koninginne informeert haer aen den Grave van CECILE, oft ESSEX feyt plichtigh is bevonden, welcken haer antwoordt, dat jae: ende dat hy eer korts sall gevonnist worden. De Koninginne haere voorige Liefde tot ESSEX bedenckende, belooft hem alles te vergeven, indien hy syn schult bekennen wilt, lastende aen den Grave van TILNEY naer den Thoren te gaen om aen den Grave van ESSEX sulx kenbaer te maecken.

I. BYKOMSTE. Den Grave van SALSBURY komende tot de Koninginne, bidt voor ESSEX om genade, welke sy hem belooft te geven, in dien hy syne fauten met oodtmoet wilt bekennen, hem sendende naer ESSEX om den selven haere jonste aen te bieden.

II. BYKOMSTE. Den Grave SAUTHAMPTON met MERRICK en CUFF gevangen zynde, worden voor de Koninginne gebracht, welke sigh beklagen over hunnen handel, biddende om genade, wordt de selve hun geweygert, eyndelijck geeft de Koninginne last aen CECILE om hun Vonnis te maecken.

III. BYKOMSTE. De Koninginne verstaen hebbende dat ESSEX de Princesse van SUFFOLCK niet, maer de Hertoginne van IRTON was beminnende, schiet daer over in eene jolouse gramschap, sweerende ESSEX onderganck ende doodt, de Hertoginne van IRTON met de Gravinne van ESSEX bidden de Koninginne om genade voor den Graef, welke sy weygert, doch eyndelijck wilt hem van de doodt beschermen ende het leven geven.

VERTOONINGE, waer **MERRICK** en **CUFF** gevonnist zynde, gehangen worden,
zynde de saecke van SAUTHAMPTON noch niet gedecideert.

MUSICAEL GESANGH.

2. *Uytganck.* TILNEY (door bevel der Koninginne) by ESSEX komende, stelt hem voor de groote Liefde die sy t'hemwaerts is dragende, ende dat indien hy haer syn Mins-geheym en wederliefde met oodtmoet wilt doen blijcken, sy hem sal beschermen en alles vergeven, seggende ESSEX liever te willen sterven als sulx te doen.

1. **BYKOMSTE.** Den Grave van SALSBURY vergeselschap met de Hertoginne van SAUTHAMPTON ende de Gravinne van ESSEX komen den Grave in de gevangenis te troosten, hem te kennen gevende de Liefde der Koninginne, bidden hem, van sigh te veroodtmoedigen, doch vruchteloos: ondertusschen geeft den adieu aen de Hertoginne syne noytgenote Bruydt, komende ondertusschen den Heer HAUWARD met de Lijfwacht den Grave aenseggen, dat hy sigh andermael moet naer den Bloedt-raedt begeven om syn Vonnis te hooren aflenen, welck de Hertoginne met de Gravinne hoorende, vallen machteloos door d'uyterste droefheyt.

3. *Uytganck.* Den Grave van ESSEX voor den Bloedt-raedt gebracht zynde, hoort onbevreesd syn Vonnis lesen, wordende ter selven tydt hem de ure van syn sterven aengeseyt.

4. *Uytganck.* De Koninginne verstaende, dat ESSEX sigh niet en wilt veroodtmoedigen, besluit syn hooghmoedt naer waerdy te straffen: de Hertogin bidt nochmaels om genaede mits den Grave stont ter Doodt te gaen, de Koninginne haer bepeysende, sendt TILNEY in aller spoet, om syne Doodt te doen staecken, doch ter plaetse komende, bevint het Vonnis te zyn uytgevoert, welck hy in aller haest aen de Koninginne kenbaer maeckt.

VERTOONINGE, alwaer den Grave van ESSEX onthooft light.

5. *Uytganck.* De Koninginne met haer gevolgh, het doodt Lichaem van den Grave gesien hebbende, valt machteloos van haer selven, wordende door TILNEY onderschraeght, beklagende met groote droefheyt syne Doodt.

1. **BYKOMSTE.** Den Grave van SALSBURY vertelt met droefheyt aen de Koninginne, 't gene aen hem in den Thoren van den Grave van ESSEX was geseyt. De Koninginne beklaght ESSEX onnoosele Doodt: doet ondertusschen een Sierlijck en Prachtigh Graf tot syne Eer en Lof bereyden.

BALLET.

NAER-REDEN

(1) Salsbury: there is no "earl of Salsbury, being a friend of Essex" (see also "Cecil", note 7).

(2) Edward, earl of Worcester (1586-1628) was present at the trial of Essex.

- (3) Southampton: Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton (Wriothesley is pronounced "Risly"; 1573–1624) in February 1601 was sentenced to death. Cecil obtained the commutation of the penalty to imprisonment for life.
- (4) Meyrick, Sir Gelly (ca. 1556-1601): steward of Essex.
- (5) Irton (Ireton?): there was no duchess of Irton.
- (6) Eleonora: Essex had only two sisters: Dorothy (+ 1619) and Penelope (1562-1607). The latter was lady in waiting at the court of Elisabeth and married Robert Rich. This Penelope could be the "Eleonora" of the play.
- (7) Cecile: Sir Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, KG, PC (1 June 1563–24 May 1612), Earl of Salisbury, only since 1605. Certainly *not* a friend of Essex.
- (8) Suffolk: there was no princess of Suffolk.
- (9) Edmund Tilney (ca. 1536–1610) was a courtier best known now as Master of the Revels to Elizabeth I and James I.
- (10) Don Pedro, Spanish governor in Madrid at that time.
- (11) Hauward: Lord Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk and first Baron Howard De Walden (1561-1626). In February 1601 he was marshal of the forces which besieged the Earl of Essex in his house in London, and on the 19th he sat as one of the peers on the trials of the Earls of Essex and Southampton, being at the time constable of the Tower of London.
- (12) Crommer also figures in the play of Corneille (1678) as a captain of the guards.

7 Cuffe's literary work

In almost all the papers concerning Henry Cuffe is mentioned his literary work en especially his philosophical work: *The Differences of the Ages of Man's Life: together with the originall causes, progresse, and end thereof*.

In the BL in London I have consulted the 1633- and 1640-edition. They also hold the first edition of 1607. I copied some pages from the microfilm, from which a few extracts are given further on. But first follows a comment by two readers:

Written text on the opposite page of the title-page of the 1633-edition

Read June 24. 1844

An interesting specimen of the state of Philosophical and Physiological learning at the close of the 16th century in England. The author was the elaborated H. Cuffe, Secretary to the Earl of Essex, and who was executed for the share he had in the treasonable practices of his master.

Written text on the opposite page of the title-page of the 1640-edition

S^r H. Wotton ⁽¹⁾ In y^e (the) life of y^e Earle of Essex

There was amongst his nearest attendants, one Henry Cuffe, a man of secrett ambitious ends of his owne and of proportionate counsellis, smothered under y^e habit of a scholar, and slubbered (slobbered) over with a certaine rude and clownish fashion, that had y^e semblance of integrity.

Biographia Britannia (in different writing of the above text)

⁽¹⁾ Sir Henry Wotton (1568 - December, 1639) was an English author and diplomat. He entered in the service of Essex as one of his agents or secretaries. Wotton was not, like his unfortunate fellow-secretary, Henry Cuffe, who was hanged at Tyburn in 1601, directly involved in Essex's downfall, but he thought it prudent to leave England, and within sixteen hours of his patron's apprehension he was safe in France, whence he travelled to Venice and Rome (*Wikipedia*). The written text is probably copied from the *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, published in 1651, which I have not consulted, and is in old script (cfr: y^e). The text of the *Biographia Britannia* is in more modern spelling.

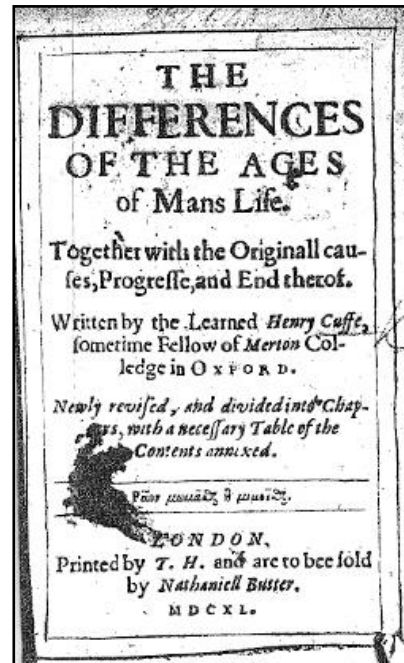
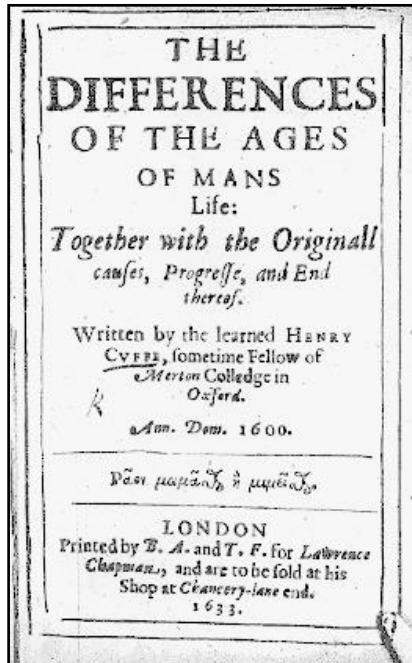
Comment by John Campbell (*Biographia...*, p. 1598)

There is something in this piece very curious and philosophical, and though, at this time of day, what between our proficiency in experimental philosophy, in which he was but a beginner, and the uncouthness of his stile, which was the fault of his time, much of the beauty of his work is lost; yet the strength of his thoughts, the accuracy of his method, and his connected manner of reasoning, leaves no reason at all to doubt, that he deserved the commendations that have been bestowed upon him.

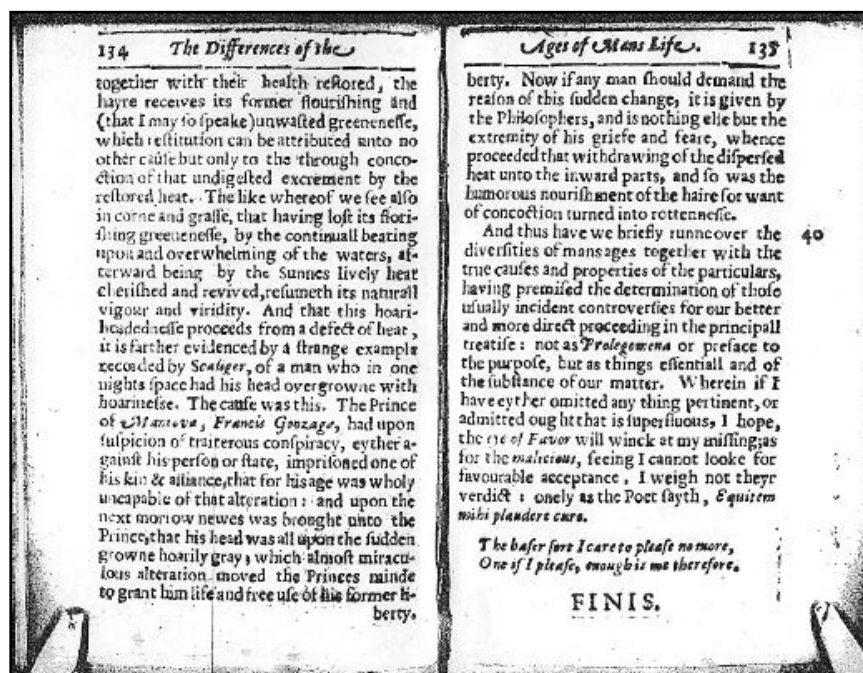
7.1 Texts out of *The Differences of the Ages of Man's Life...*

This book is subdivided in 21 chapters. The last chapter contains 13 sections. The last section of chapter 21: '*Thirteen: Why old men are graye. An especiall reason of Aristotles. A remarkeable Historie.*', is reproduced below (pp. 132-35). See also the photocopy of it (pp. 134-35).

Title-page of the 1633- and 1640-edition



Last two pages of the 1633-edition



***The Differences of the Ages of Man's Life...*, 1640, pp. 213 (abstract)**

(p. 1) (...)

Chap. I.

Man being called the Little World, in respect of resemblance to the Frame of the Great World, and

(p. 2) coexistence with the same : The question of the Worlds Eternity is fitly propoun(d)ed.

MAN, the *Epithome* of the whole *World*, Lord of the *Creatures*, in regard of that perfect Analogie and resemblance betweene him and the Great Worlds frame, is not unfitly by the Learned, both *Divines* and *Philosophers*, termed, The *Lesser World* : for there is nothing in the vast compasse of this universal circumference, whose likenesse and lively representation we have not summarily compiled in man, as in most perfect compendium and abridgement. For as the *first moved sphere* carrieth with its motion, the subject

(p. 3) inferiour circles, so the servile underfaculties as the *sensuall desire* and *appetite*, are by nature subdued to the dominion and guidance of the more principal and mistrisse power of the soule which wee call *reason*. And as in the midst of heaven there is scituated the *Sunne*, that enlighthneth all things, with his raies, & cherisheth the World, and the things therein containd with his life-keeping *heat* : so the heart of man, the fountayne of *life* and *heath*, hath assigned to it by *Nature*, the middle part of our body for his habitation from whence proceedeth *life* and *heat*, unto all the parts of the body, (as it were unto Rivers) whereby they be preserved and enabled to perform their naturall and proper functions. (...)

***The Differences of the Ages of Man's Life...*, 1633, pp. 135 (abstract)**

(p. 132) (...) **39** *Whence is that frosty hoarinesse that usually lighted upon mens heads in the winter and coldest age of their life?* There are some that imagine

(p. 133) it to drinesse of those excrements : which also they goe about to proove by the like expirement in bones, which after their humor is drawne out by feething, grow more and more white, till at length they come unto a perfect and full whitenesse. But the untrue resolution of the doubt propounded is thereby discovered, because that men who use to cover their haire, are sooner gray-headed than those that use no covering, when as notwithstanding it is manifest, that covered haire hath more store of moisture, than that which hath beene exposed unto the injurious tossing of tbe winde, and the scorching heat of the Sunne. Therefore I rather allow of *Aristotles* reason, namely the putrifaction of that excrementall humour, where of our haire is made : for our naturall heat through its unintermitted operation, being disabled fully to digest that excrement sent from within to that outmost covering, our skin, for the hairens nourishment, it putrifieth and corrupteth. (Now that there is such a rottennesse and putrifaction in the hayre, it is evident by experience of such as by long sicknesse have become untimely gray-headed; for after the recovery of their disease, the feeblenesse of their heate being

(p. 134, see also photocopy) together with their health restored the hayre receives Its former flourishing and (that I may to speake) unwasted greenenesse, which restitution can be attributed unto no other cause but only to the through concoction of that undigested excrement by the restored heat. The like whereof we see also in corne and grasse, that having lost its flourishing

greenenesesse, by the continuall beating upon and overwhelming of the waters, afterward being by the Sunnes lively heat cherished and revived, resumeth its naturall vigour and viridity. And that this hoariheadednesse proceeds from a defect of heat) it is farther evidenced by a strange example recorded by *Scaliger* ⁽¹⁾, of a man who in one nights space had his head overgrowne with hoarinesse. The cause was this. The Prince of *Mantova*, *Francis Gonzage* ⁽²⁾, had upon suspicion of traiterous conspiracy, eyther against his person or state, imprisoned one of his kin & alliance, that for his age was wholly uncapable of that alteration: and upon the next morrow newes was brought unto the Prince, that his head was all upon the sudden growne hoarily gray, which almost miraculous alteration moved the Princes minde to grant him his life and free use of his former liberty.

(p. 135) Now if any man should demand the reason of this sudden change, it is given by the Philosophers, and is nothing else but the extremity of his grieffe and feare, whence proceeded that withdrawing of the dispersed heat unto the inward parts, and so was the humorous nourishment of the haire for want of concoction turned into rottennesse,

40 And thus have we briefly runne over the diversities of man's ages together with the true causes and properties of the particulars, having premised the determination of those usually incident controversies for our better and more direct proceeding in the principall treatise : not as *Prologomena* ⁽³⁾ or preface to the purpose, but as things essential and of the substance of our matter. Wherein if I have eyther omitted any thing pertinent, or admitted ought that is superfluous, I hope, the eye of Favor will winck at my missing; as for the *malicious*, seeing I cannot looke for favourable acceptance, I weigh not theyr verdict : onely as the Poet sayth, *Equitem plaudere curo*.

*The baser sort I care to please no more,
One if I please, enough is me therefore.*

F I N I S

⁽¹⁾ Joseph Justus Scaliger (August 5, 1540–January 21, 1609) was a French religious leader and scholar.

⁽²⁾ The Gonzaga family ruled Mantua in Northern Italy from 1328 to 1708; in 1433, John Francis (Gonzaga) was appointed marquis of Mantua.

⁽³⁾ Usually, *prolegomena* (sometimes used with a singular verb) a treatise serving as a preface or introduction to a book.

Additional information - 2019

The first edition of 1607 of *Differences of the ages of man's life* is available on the internet (1/04/2019) as a free e-book by *Google Books*:

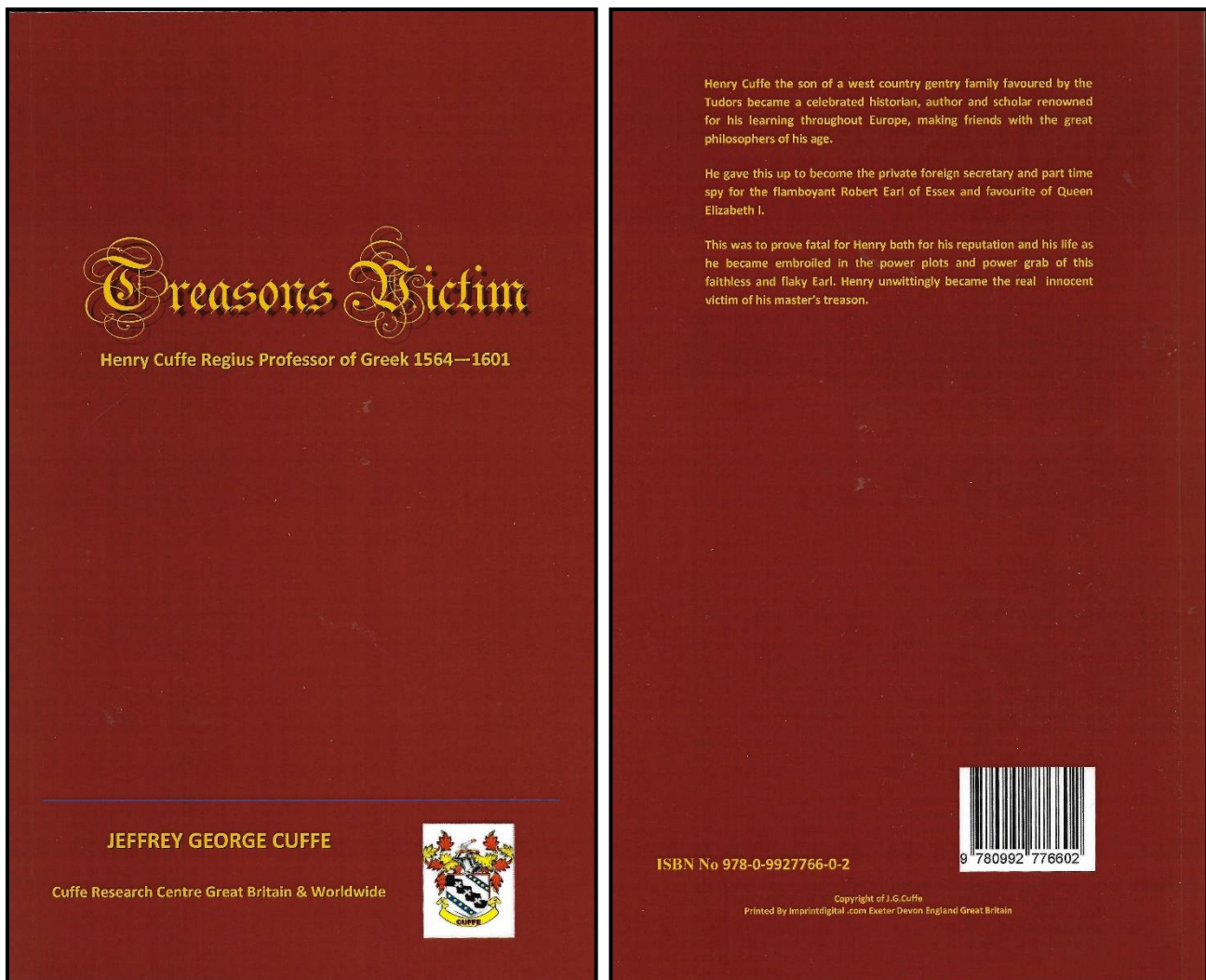
<https://books.google.be/books?id=vwQWAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=The+Differences+of+the+Ages+cuffe&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiAs6WQ-5LoAhXRPOwKHSWXBYoQ6wEILTAA#v=onepage&q=The%20Differences%20of%20the%20Ages%20cuffe&f=false>

8 Additional information - 2017

8.1 An outstanding publication concerning Henry Cuffe

In January 2014 I received a copy of a paper about Henry Cuffe written by Jeffrey George Cuffe (Jeff Cuffe) one of my correspondents, founder of the *Cuffe Research Centre, Great Britain & Wordwilde, founded in 1977* (jeff.cuff@btinternet.com).

It is *the* complete study on Henry Cuffe (122 pp.) and a *must* for everyone who is interested in this memorable person. It can be procured on the net (amazon.com). Below is shown the front and back cover (13 x 23 cm).



Additional information – 2019

Below a picture of the Tower (26/08/2011) with, on the left corner, the 'Devereux Tower' where Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, was kept prisoner, waiting for his execution.

More information on the subject can be found on the internet:

http://www.englishmonarchs.co.uk/tower_london_18.html (26/11/2019).



9 *Biographia Brittanica*, 1747-1766, Vol. 3, pp. 1581-1586, in photocopy (addition 2019)

CUDWORTH CUFFE

1581

(text concerning 'CUDWORTH')

(p. 1581, partly, beginning of the text concerning 'CUFF')

CUFF or CUFFE (HENRY), a celebrated wit, a famous scholar, and the unfortunate Secretary of the unhappy Earl of Essex, who suffered towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is by some said, or rather suggested, to have been but of low birth (a), but very unjustly, since there is good evidence to prove, that his ancestors had been reputed gentlemen for several descents, and had lands to a considerable value about Creech and Taunton in Somersetshire (b). He was born at Hinton St George in that county, about the year 1560 (c), was educated at a grammar-school, and gave very early marks both of genius and application (d), inasmuch that, in 1576, he was removed to Oxford, and entered there of Trinity College (e). His parts were so quick, and his diligence so great, that he very soon distinguished himself from most of his contemporaries, more especially in his knowledge of Greek, and his admirable faculty in disputing. He became, in due time, Fellow of his College, and would, without doubt, have gone through his academical studies with all the success and applause imaginable, if it had not been for a certain haughtiness of temper, which induced him to speak his mind very freely on subjects and of persons, with whom he had little or nothing to do. A saying of his of Sir Thomas Pope, who was the founder of the College in which he was educated, proved fatal to him, so that he was turned out of his Fellowship, and expelled the College (f). His merit, however, was so great, and his reputation for learning so extraordinary, that he

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was

(a) Sanderfon's Lives of Mary Queen of Scots and King James, p. 238.

(b) Visitation-book of Somersetshire, Anno Dom. 1573. MS. in the Herald's office.

(c) Fuller's Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 28.

(d) Remarks upon the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 537.

(e) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

(f) Liber niger Scaccarii, edit. T. H. p. 593.

was received into Merton-College by Sir Henry Savile, then Warden of it, and who was particularly remarkable for being a most disinterested patron of such as were truly scholars (g). In 1586 Mr Cuffe was elected Probationer-fellow of that College, and, being very intimate with many of the greatest men of those times who were bred at this University, he was looked upon as one capable of making a shining figure in the world (h); more especially as he was known to turn his thoughts to active life, and to apply himself with great vigour to the more polite as well as abstruse parts of learning. In 1588 he became Fellow of Merton-College, and, on the 20th of February following, he took the degree of Master of Arts (i). Amongst other persons of note with whom he had great intimacy, one was the learned Mr Camden, in commendation of whose excellent *Britannia* he wrote a Greek epigram, that has been much admired (k). This indeed was the happiest part of his life, and it had been very fortunate for him if he had contented himself with that easy and honourable situation, which his own learning, and the assistance of his friends in this University, had procured him, notwithstanding the slip he had made in the earlier part of his life, from a vivacity of temper which never left him [A]. He was afterwards promoted to the Greek professorship, and was chosen Proctor of the University April 10th, 1594 (l). At what time he left the University, or upon what occasion, does not appear; but there is great reason to believe, that it was for the sake of improving himself by travelling into foreign parts (m); for he was always inclined rather to a busy than a retired life, and held, that learning was of little service to any man, if it did not render him fitter for being employed in matters of importance. This disposition of his recommended him very much to the favour of Robert Earl of Essex, who was himself much of the same temper, that is, equally fond of knowledge and business, and strongly persuaded the former was of very little use but as it fitted men for the latter. His Lordship writing admirably well, and being an excellent judge of the writings of other men, thought it would be highly useful to himself, and the means of promoting Mr Cuffe, if he took him into his service, as well as into his protection; and accordingly, about the time that he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (n), Mr Cuffe was appointed his Secretary. It appears, from the private as well as publick histories of those times, that he was very much in his confidence; but, whether the Earl intrusted him with the dark designs he carried on with Tyrone, in order to make himself King of England, and Tyrone Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is as little certain, as whether his Lordship ever had any such designs, or was so unfortunate only as to have them imputed to him by his enemies (o). This, however, is out of dispute, that, when the Earl returned from his expedition, in August 1599, to Dublin, and resolved to send over an account to the Queen of what he had concluded with Tyrone, he made choice of Mr Cuffe to be the bearer, and, perhaps, used his assistance in penning those letters. This was certainly both a dangerous and a disagreeable service; which, however, Mr Cuffe undertook, and very happily performed, delivering his letters safely to her Majesty, and afterwards, upon some insinuations to his prejudice, upon which he was sent for to the Queen, he justified himself to her satisfaction (p) [B]. As he had naturally a very high spirit, was sincerely attached

(g) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 466.

(h) Ep. Mountague's pref. to his *Diatribe* upon the first part of the *Hist. of Tythes*.

(i) Wood's *Fasti Oxoniensis*, Vol. I. col. 135.

(k) It is prefixed in all the Latin editions, and in the two last English translations.

(l) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 507. *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 147.

(m) See the note [I].

(n) Camd. Ann. edit. T.H. p. 794.

(o) See the declaration of the treasons of Robert Earl of Essex, published by authority, 4^{to}, 1601.

(p) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 122.

[A] From a vivacity of temper which never left him.] It was certainly a mark of the candour, as well as care, of Mr Wood, that he took so much pains as to search the Heralds Office, in order to find the grant of a coat of arms made to Job Cuffe, our author's ancestor, by Christopher Baker then King at Arms, in the 36th of Henry VIII (1). He was in the wrong however to fix upon a late, and in some respects a low, writer, as author of those detracting passages, that passed so currently in the world to his prejudice; whereas, most undoubtedly, these took rise from what was said of him by a noble author (2), who wrote indeed at that time under direction, and we may believe could not but be rude to his Secretary, after being roundly schooled by the Queen, for speaking with common decency of his master. It was from him therefore that succeeding writers copied, though there wanted not others, well acquainted with those times and with the man, who spoke of him with decency, pity, and even with respect. He was but a very young man when he went to Oxford, and it was by the pregnancy of his parts that he became so early a Fellow of Trinity-college. Mr Wood tells us, in one place, that he was forced to resign his fellowship for laying somewhat that was true of the founder (3); in another place, however, that is, in a Collection of Historical Passages, he has set down the whole story, and that upon good authority; which as it very fully justifies what we have said in the text, the reader shall have in his own words (4): 'Dr Bathurst told me, that our Cuffe was of Trinity-college, and expelled from thence upon this account; the founder, Sir Thomas Pope, would, wheresoever he went a visiting his

friend, steal one thing or other that he could lay his hands on, put it in his pocket, or under his gown. This was supposed rather an humour than of dishonesty. Now Cuffe upon a time, with his fellows being merry, said, a pox this is a poor beggarly college indeed, the plate that our founder stole would build such another. Which coming to the President's ears, was thereupon ejected, though afterwards elected into Merton-college.' How dear he was to Sir Henry Savile, at that time Warden of Merton-college, appears not only from his procuring him to be elected upon the very first occasion that offered after his own preferment, but also from a letter of his to the learned Camden, in which, in a very few words, he gives him the highest character, and styles him his own and Camden's intimate friend.

[B] He justified himself to her satisfaction.] What we have to explain in this part of the work is, the share that Mr Cuffe had in the Earl of Essex's proceedings, nor would this be of so much importance, if many of our Histories did not deliver things somewhat remote from truth in several instances, and directly contrary to it in others. It is generally set forth and believed, that the Earl went to Ireland with great joy and alacrity, from whence it has been inferred, that he had dangerous designs in his head before he went thither, which he meant to ripen and bring to perfection there (5). However, the contrary of this is very fully proved (6); by a knowing and intelligent writer, who has brought to light many remarkable passages relating to these times. The truth seems to be, that the Earl of Essex found himself not able to perform any great matters in that kingdom, and was at the same

(5) See the declaration of the treasons of Robert Earl of Essex.

(6) Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 151 in the notes.

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attached to the Earl of Essex, and looked upon the usage he met with from the court as effects rather of the power of the opposite faction, than the just punishment of the Earl's offences, he gave way to his resentments, and was one of those that dissuaded that unhappy Lord, after his emerging a little from that dark cloud of the Queen's displeasure, in which he had been involved, and suffered thereby severely, from prosecuting the recovery of her favour by those methods of humble duty, and deep submission, which others of his Lordship's friends advised (7). It is very possible, that both he and they might be prompted to the opposite counsels they gave, from certain views to their own interest, as well as those of the Earl; for Mr Anthony Bacon, and Sir Francis his brother, had other friends at court, and other means to trust to than the countenance of the Earl of Essex, and might therefore advise him to what they thought best suited their own schemes. But it was quite otherwise with Mr Cuffe, his sole dependance was upon the Earl, and, as he had no other hopes of attaining any considerable office than by his favour and protection, he was very desirous of seeing him quickly restored to the Queen's good graces, which he thought could not fail if he had once free access to the court, which, therefore, he prompted him to obtain by any means, and at any rate (8) [C]. While the Earl of Essex followed the advice of the two Bacons, as well as during his Lordship's confinement after his precipitate return from Ireland, Mr Cuffe had little or no access to him; but, after he recovered his liberty, and found that was not attended, as he expected, with a restitution of his power and credit, he began to recur to his old projects, and to converse once more with his old friends, by which means Mr Cuffe was recalled again to his service, and to that measure of intimacy and confidence in which he had been formerly held (9). This, together with the great likeness of their tempers, was the source of both their misfortunes; for the Earl thenceforward began to dislike, and even to suspect, the representations made to him by those who were desirous that he should leave it to time; and the Queen's known regard for him, to overcome the ill impressions she had received, and not, by a hasty resuming of his former popularity, beget new grounds of distaste, and afford his enemies fresh opportunities of insinuating things to his prejudice, the only method which, as they persuaded him, could hinder his coming once more into favour and power

(7) Camd. Annal.
Essex. p. 733.

(8) See Sir Francis
Bacon's Apology,
Sir Henry Wot-
ton's Parallel,
and Camden's
Annals.

(9) Reliquæ Wot-
tonianæ, p. 18.

same time kept there by the Queen's express command. It is very likely that it was this that put him upon his treaty with Tyrone, and afterwards induced him to form that desperate design, of landing with two thousand men at Milford Haven, from which it was with some difficulty he was dissuaded by the Earl of Southampton and Sir Christopher Blount. It is not at all probable that Mr Cuffe was so much as acquainted with, much less in any degree the author of, this scheme; for he was sent over in August with the Earl's letter to the Queen (7), a particular that seems to have been unknown to most of the writers upon this subject. But however he had not been long in London, before the zeal and diligence he expressed in his master's service drew upon him the resentment of some great persons, who gave bad impressions of him to the Queen, which occasioned his being sent for. This passage we learn from a letter written at that very time by Mr Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, dated September 12, 1599, which runs thus (8): 'The unkindness between my Lord of Essex and Mr Secretary is grown to extremity. I hear my Lord is infinitely discontented, and in his discontentments uses speeches that may be dangerous and hurtful to his safety. Mr Cuffe hath had access to the Queen, who came of purpose marvellously well instructed to answer such objections as her Majesty could lay to his charge, and I hear that Cuffe hath very wisely behaved himself to her Majesty's better satisfaction.'

(7) Camd. Annal.
Essex. p. 792.

(8) Memorials
and State Papers
of the Sidney fa-
mily, Vol. II.
p. 122.

[C] By any means, and at any rate.] This was from first to last the great point which Mr Cuffe had in view. He thought that the Earl of Essex's friends were so numerous, and some of them of such high quality, that the method which the Cecilian party took to maintain themselves in power, might be so represented as to raise a jealousy in the Queen, who was very tender of her authority, and that if the Earl once came to her presence, and represented these matters with his usual eloquence, and was supported by the testimonies of those who were prepared to make good his charge, their business would be done (9). But without doubt, when he first thought of this method, he had no design of accomplishing it by force, that fell in afterwards, when experience had discovered that access could be had no other way. It is true that something of this nature had been proposed to the Earl long before, when he was in Ireland, but he rejected it, and foreseeing that it might be objected to him when his conduct was

called in question before the Privy Council, he set down an answer to this charge in the brief notes that he made for his defence, the substance of which are preserved by a grave Historian (10). It is therefore most probable, that when force came again to be thought of, it was originally moved by the same person that first hinted it, and that was Sir Christopher Blount, who had married the Earl of Essex's mother. This seems also to be clearly proved by the Earl of Essex's confession, who charged that gentleman with giving him such advice (11). Upon the whole, therefore, we have good reason to believe, that at first these were two distinct designs, and that Mr Cuffe founded all his hopes in the enlarging and increasing the Earl's faction, by taking in malecontents of all parties and of all religions, but more especially by drawing to him such great men and Ministers, as were known either to fear Secretary Cecil's resentment, or to envy his greatness, in pursuance of which scheme Mr Cuffe not only acted vigorously himself, and engaged the Earl in the like schemes, but prevailed upon him to employ others in the prosecution of that design, which went so far as to alarm the Court very much; nor is it at all improbable, that if it had been managed with more temper and discretion, and without giving such visible occasions of questioning the Earl's dutiful intentions, it might have been brought to end otherwise than it did, the Earl having most part of the city, and not a few at Court, on his side. But it was that Nobleman's misfortune, that with very great parts he had very great weaknesses; he was certainly a man of principle, as well in regard to policy as religion; but as he had very strong passions, and those kept constantly inflamed by his followers on one side, and his enemies on the other, there was little of steadiness in his proceedings. He sometimes embraced the sentiments of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and of his Court friends; but this method proving slow, he came, as it is said in the text, to dislike that, and fall in with Cuffe's counsels, who suspected the sincerity of the Courtiers, and thought to make his Lord formidable, by placing him at the head of a numerous party; but this too not answering in so short a time as his desires, and indeed his occasions, required, Sir Christopher Blount's project was brought again upon the carpet, and thus, by only approving the best, and pursuing the worst counsels, this Nobleman ruined himself and all who were attached to him.

(10) Camd. Annal.
p. 797.

(11) See the trial
of Sir Christopher
Blount, and o-
thers, in the State
Trials, Vol. VII.
p. 47.

(9) This is Cuffe's
own account of
the matter, at
his trial, in his
confessions, and
at his death.

[D] Or

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(t) Camd. Annal.
Eliz. p. 331, 333.(v) Reliquæ Wot-
tonianæ, p. 31.(w) Camd. Annal.
Eliz. p. 833.(x) Reliquæ Wot-
tonianæ, p. 32.
Camd. Annal.
Eliz. p. 833.(y) Wood's
Athen. Oxon.
Vol. I. col. 353.(z) Camd. Annal.
Eliz. p. 835, 837.(a) See the de-
claration of the
Earl of Essex's
treasons. Camd.
Annal. Eliz. p.
837.(b) This is col-
lected from the
declaration be-
fore mentioned,
and the proceed-
ings against the
Earl and his ac-
complices.(12) Camden.
Annal. Eliz. p.
833.(13) Reliquæ
Wottonianæ,
p. 31.

power (t). Yet, as much as the Earl liked the zeal and affection of his Secretary, and notwithstanding he delighted very much, as indeed he very well might, in his conversation, since he had a wonderful facility of applying all that he had learned from books to business, and of suiting the wise observations of ancient authors to the transactions of modern times (u). Yet, his Lordship was but too well acquainted with the nature of Courts, and more especially that he had to deal with, to regard Mr Cuffe's political reflections as oracles, which the other observed, and took amiss. This lead him to shew the Earl, that he was not so far addicted to him as not to see his blind side; for that his submission, when called before the Lords of the Privy-Council, had sunk his character very much without raising his fortune at all; that, by admitting his own conduct in Ireland to be wrong, he, in effect, acknowledged all the proceedings against him right, and therefore, if he meant not to lead a life of dependance, he must think of recovering his reputation by some distinguished action (w). This roused the Earl, whose parts were certainly very good; he saw at once the danger of such advice, and the destruction that must attend his following it; for which reason he not only rejected it with disdain, but ordered Sir Gelly Merrick to discharge the Secretary immediately from his service, which, if he had done, some writers seem to think both their lives had been by it preserved. So it was however, that Sir Gelly Merrick took no notice of this order, which omission cost him his life also. The reason he gave for it was, that he was afraid Mr Cuffe might be tempted to join with his Lord's enemies; but his real motive was, his agreeing in Cuffe's sentiments (x). However, this produced a coldness, which lasted for some time; but the Queen denying to renew the Earl's grant for farming the sweet wines, and some other mortifications which he received from Court, having again sowed his temper, he called Mr Cuffe back to his councils; to which he might be possibly induced for the sake of managing better a new design he was upon, which was interesting King James in his favour, or, rather, labouring to persuade that Prince of his cordial affection to his service. A thing not a little suspected before, as appeared by the Jesuit Persons's dedicating to his Lordship his dangerous book about the Succession, which he had published under the name of Doleman (y). This scheme was certainly a better than the former, and there is some reason to believe that this also was Cuffe's, and was, for some time, pretty well managed. But such was the heat of some of their associates tempers, that they would not suffer the Earl to wait for the good effects that project might have produced; on the contrary, they were continually infusing into him his danger of becoming a beggar, upon the expiration of his grant for the sweet wines; in consequence of which his friends would drop off, and he must entirely lose that credit and influence which had hitherto made him dreadful to his enemies, even under the weight of his misfortunes (z). By degrees these insinuations prevailed so far upon the Earl's mind, that he departed entirely from his scheme of submission, and returned to that sort of conduct which he had pursued in Ireland, directing, or at least allowing, Sir Gelly Merrick to keep a kind of open table for discontented and factious persons of all parties, though he did not appear in person, or converse with any of them, agreeable to one of Cuffe's maxims, *That it was good to have a multitude at his back, but few heads in his council* (a). Upon particular occasions, and to afford them necessary instructions for the management of their respective parts in the maintenance of his association, the Earl of Essex conferred personally, but generally in private, with the principal Lords and Gentlemen of his party, yet without disclosing the whole extent of his views, or the means he intended to employ in order to carry them into execution; those were reserved for his secret council, and these, as far as we can discern, were Sir Christopher Blount and Mr Cuffe, who suggested and directed, or at least examined, and gave their approbation, to all his proceedings (b) [D]. Amongst other schemes set on foot

[D] Or at least examined and directed, and gave their approbation to all his proceedings.] We have in the text, upon the authority of a grave and great Historian, given an account of the motives upon which the Earl of Essex dismissed Mr Cuffe (12), and how that measure came to prove abortive; but the tale is quite otherwise told by a very polite writer, and one who asserts he had it from good authority. His story is worth the reading, it runs thus (13): 'There was amongst the Earl of Essex's nearest attendants, one Henry Cuffe, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counsels, smothered under the habit of a scholar, and flattered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity. This person, not above five or six weeks before my Lord's fatal irruption into the city, was, by the Earl's special command, suddenly discharged from all further attendance or access unto him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp and importunate insinuations, and out of a glimmering foresight, that he would prove the very instrument of his ruin. I must add hereunto, that about the same time my Lord had received from

the Countess of Warwick (a Lady powerful in the Court, and indeed a virtuous user of her power) the best advice that I think was ever given from either sex, That when he was free from restraint he should closely take any out-lodgings at Greenwich, and sometimes, when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, whereof she would give him notice, he should come forth and humble himself before her in the field. This counsel sunk much into him, and for some days he resolved it, but, in the mean time, through the intercession of the Earl of Southampton, whom Cuffe had gained, he was restored to my Lord's ear, and so working advantage upon his disgraces, and the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, spun out the final destruction of his master and himself, and almost of his restorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches. True it is that the Earl, in Westminster-Hall, did in general disclose the evil persuasions of this man; but the particulars which I have related, of his dismissal and restitution he buried in his own breast, for some reasons apparent enough. Indeed, as I conjecture, not to exasperate the case of my Lord of Southampton, though

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foot at this time by Mr Cuffe, for the support of the Earl's interest, there was one which shewed him a true Politician, a great master in the knowledge of human nature, and a man equally capable of contriving with the utmost sagacity, and executing with the greatest address. Sir Henry Nevile, who had been the Queen's Ambassador in France, and who had shewn himself, in a long and troublesome negotiation, as active and able a Statesman as those times had produced, was then at home, and under kind of a court cloud, which, though he was nearly related to Sir Robert Cecil, he had some cause to suspect was of his raising, or, at least, thought he had good grounds to be displeased, that, by his known power and interest, it was not dispelled (c). Upon the discontents of this great and wise Minister, Mr Cuffe thought it practicable to work; and, though he had never any nearness with the Earl of Essex in his greatest prosperity, or the least correspondence with him since his troubles began, yet Mr Cuffe, who knew with how great efficacy the associating so great a person, and of such high reputation for his sagacity in their designs, would operate in favour of the Earl's cause, undertook to bring it about, and, against all shew of probability, succeeded (d). He took an opportunity of insinuating to Sir Henry, that, after the Queen, his mistress, the nation in general, and the Ministry in particular, had received many and great advantages from that vigilance and industry with which he had managed publick affairs in France, and elsewhere; instead of receiving suitable rewards, exceptions were taken to his conduct, and himself put under difficulties and hardships, by the intrigues of Cecil, who was jealous of every man whose services were greater, and whose parts were better, than his own. By these suggestions he wrought himself so thoroughly into the confidence of Sir Henry Nevile, that he brought him to have a good opinion of the Earl his master's intentions for the publick service; and this may be justly esteemed the most eminent stroke of Cuffe's politicks, and the highest proof of his abilities (e). His perfect intimacy with the Earl, the great likeness of their tempers, his entire knowledge of his affairs, might very well account for the ascendancy he had over him; but nothing of this, a very long acquaintance excepted, can be suggested with regard to Sir Henry Nevile, so that his interest with, and influence over, him could be ascribed to nothing but his abilities (f) [E]. We now come to the main point of the conspiracy,

(c) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 271.

(d) See Sir Henry Nevile's case, in Winwood's Memorials.

(e) Collected from Sir Henry Nevile's own relations of this matter.

(f) Mr Cuffe valued himself highly upon this at his trial.

though he might therewithal a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true report I had by infallible means, from the person himself that both brought the advice from the aforesaid excellent Lady, and carried the discharge to Cuffe, who, in a private chamber, was stricken therewith into a swoon almost dead to the earth, as if he had fallen from some high steeple; such turrets of hope he had built in his own fancy! The noble Historian, who, in his junior years, considered the subject upon which the author wrote whom we have last mentioned, though he mentions him but very slightly, yet affords Mr Cuffe quite another kind of character, and makes him to have been a much better Courtier than his master, one who observed it as a fault in him, i. e. the Earl of Essex, that he wore his passions in his countenance, that his affections or his anger were always to be read in his looks, and that he knew not how to conceal either. The noble writer's words deserve our notice. After shewing that there is a sort of dissimulation absolutely necessary in a Court, he proceeds to shew,

(14) Disparity between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Essex, written by the Earl of Clarendon.

(14) how indifferently Essex was furnished in that particular; 'how ill, says he, the Earl was read in this philosophy, his servant Cuffe (whose observations were sharp enough, whatever Stoicisms raved in his nature) well discerned when he said, *Anorem est a diu, semper in fronte gessit, nec celare nouit.*

[E] So that his interest and influence over him, could be ascribed to nothing but his abilities. It was from a long and intimate acquaintance with Sir Henry Nevile, that Mr Cuffe undertook to manage so dangerous and so intricate an affair with him. This we learn from Mr Cuffe himself, who, at his trial, was very much provoked by the Attorney-General's treating him as a messenger from the Earl of Essex, and this induced him to tell the court, that he was no such Mercury as Mr Attorney was pleased to make him, but that in whatever he transacted with Sir Henry Nevile, he behaved as a principal, and as a common friend to the Earl and to the Knight (15). Indeed this is sufficiently corroborated by the account given of this matter by Sir Henry Nevile, which was read at Cuffe's trial, and what he had asserted is clearly confirmed. It was conceived in the following terms, allowing for the inaccuracy of the transcribers (16). 'At his (Sir Henry Nevile's) arrival out of France, he was told that he had ill offices done him in Court by divers, and some of great place, and his actions at Bullen and carriage

(15) State Trials, Vol. VII. p. 59.

(16) Ibid. p. 47.

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there greatly blamed, as causing the ill success of the peace. And by Cuffe it was told him, the Earl would have him know he was wronged, because he was one that loved him. After this Cuffe brought him a letter from the Earl, thereby desiring his love, and to hold it to him, besides many other words only of compliment. To which letter he returned an answer suitable to so kind provocations: But all this while he never went to him; and being in the country within ten miles of the Earl, yet never went to visit him. But Cuffe came to him from the Earl and told him, the Earl was then at liberty, and all the world that would might then freely come unto him, but still he put off his going, till, at one time, Cuffe came and told him, the Earl expected his coming to him, and such a day he would stay supper for him, and that if he came, and Cuffe chanced not to be in the way, a gentleman of the Earl's should attend his coming, and bring him to the Earl's closet. About eight of the clock that night he went to the Earl's, and was met by a gentleman who brought him to his Lord, who entertained him kindly, and after a while, after many questions of his hopes, but used no undutiful words of the Queen or State, he parted with the Earl, there having nothing but ordinary terms of compliment passed between them. Afterwards, Mr Cuffe repairing often to him, he asked him at times how his Lord's matters stood in Court. At one time he answered him, well; and told him of great hopes conceived; at some other time he answered him very discontentedly in these things, saying it made no matter, it would cause the Earl to take other courses, and said there was a pretext to lay up the Earl of Southampton, which was a warning that they meant to lay up Lord Essex after him, but that the Earl was resolved they should never curb him up any more. Cuffe then told him, his Lord had in purpose some matters, but he should not embark himself further in them than he lifted, and desired him to give a meeting to the Earl of Southampton and Sir Charles Danvers; he said he would, but with this limitation, that nothing was intended against the Queen's person, which was promised. But he detained them at two meetings, which caused them to make an ill judgment of his meaning towards them and the intendment. Monday, on Candlemas-day, standing in Serjeants-inn gate, the Earls of Essex, Southampton, and Sir Christopher Blount, passed by

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conspiracy, or that design laid for restoring the Earl's power and greatness, which ended in his own, and in his followers ruin. Here it is necessary to distinguish between Mr Cuffe's scheme, which was contrived and never executed, and the unfortunate Earl's project, which, if I may be allowed the expression, without being thought to play upon words, was executed without any contrivance. As to the first it was this, Mr Cuffe perceiving that the Earl had many friends, some of them of great rank and quality, and that Cecil, and his associates in the ministry, had likewise many enemies, who were also persons eminent by their birth, fortune, and influence, he thought that, by uniting these, and procuring, some way or other, access to the Queen, a change might be made in the management of publick affairs, at least in her name, if not by her consent, and the Earl thereby raised to a degree of power equal to his friends wants, and his own wishes (g). Whether this sudden change for the present, was to have derived a future support, by a declaration in favour of the King of Scots claim to the succession, or whether that was to be left to further consideration, is a point we want lights sufficient to determine; but, that this was really the basis of Cuffe's project, and that he flattered himself it would not come within the legal construction of treason, is what we have good grounds to believe, and, indeed, sufficient authorities to prove (h). When things were thus far brought into order, a resolution was taken, that a general and solemn meeting should be had at Drury-House, where the chiefs of the party might see each other, where they might have a full communication in reference to their strength, and come to some resolution as to the attempt that should be made, and the safest and most feasible method of making it. After much reflection and consideration, February 2d, 1601, was fixed upon, and, accordingly, upon that day, the assembly was held at the place before-mentioned (i). It is very remarkable, that the Earl of Essex himself was not present, to prevent, as was said, any notice or umbrage being taken at Court; but, in reality, that there might be no evidence to affect him for holding such an assembly, or those who were present at it for consulting with him, in case any thing relating to it should take air. At this assembly Mr Cuffe was likewise not present, but all his friends, and at his request, and upon his earnest intreaty amongst the rest, Sir Henry Nevile. It was propounded there, that a few persons had got the Queen and the Government into their hands; that such as they disliked were no longer safe; that they daily suffered wrongs and oppressions, without any hopes of redress; that these proceedings were against justice and common right, and that the only remedy was, to obtain an audience of the Queen, in which these grievances might be fairly laid before her (k). After these preliminaries, the main point, How such an audience should be obtained? came under deliberation, and a scheme was then laid down for the Earl of Essex gaining access to her Majesty, and power enough to remove his enemies; but nothing was resolved in this assembly, though a list was produced of one hundred and thirty Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of estates, that were ready to embark in the Earl's cause, and to hazard, as indeed many of them did, and lost too, for his sake, their lives and fortunes (l). Such was the design and issue of the conference at Drury-House, in which Mr Cuffe had so deep a share, as well in the managing as in the contriving [F].

There

* in a coach, whom he saluted passing, and was the first time he had seen them of long. Anon after, Cuffe coming to him, told him he had a commission to deliver a secret unto him, which was, that the Earl finding his life sought by men potent about her Majesty, he was advised to make his appearance to the Queen, and go with strength for that purpose, describing the same manner of taking the Court, and making way to the Queen, as before is set down by others. This Cuffe said he was to impart to him, as one in whose love the Earl was confident. The matters being propounded unto him, he made many objections, and put great difficulties in the execution, easily perfecting of things being promised; my answer was, *Multa sunt quæ non laudantur nisi cum aguntur*. When some persons were named for the actors, he objected that if many knew it, it would not be concealed; if few were used, it would not be performed. The Earl of Rutland being named for one, said, they would not trust him long before-hand, for if he knew it but two hours before he would tell. In conclusion, he was desired to think of the things propounded in case they were shewed unto him. Afterward Cuffe came to him, to whom he related all the speeches used in that conference, and told him he would not allow it, except they would conjure and take an oath to attempt nothing against the Queen's person and against Mr Secretary, he would never do nor consent to any thing, for he was nearer unto him, therefore they must, *dare pudice*, spare him in that. Cuffe said to him they would only have him present when things were doing, and if it fell out so, that he should be hastened to dispatch into France before

* that time, he might defer it by feigning sickness. By their appointment he should have been Secretary. Further it is required, that he should have sent a Minister into London to find how the city stood affected to the Earl. Cuffe further told him of a buzz in many mens mouths in London, and that there had been warning given to the Mayor and Aldermen to look to the city, but of twenty-four Aldermen he doubted not of twenty at least. It is evident enough that this narrative was but indistinctly taken, however it is the best we have, and comes home to the point it was brought to prove, that Sir Henry Nevile had a great confidence in Cuffe, and that it was chiefly from this he was drawn to meddle in the affair.

[F] In which Mr Cuffe had so deep a share, as well in the managing as in the contriving. There is one point left much in the dark in the last note, which therefore should be explained in this; it is confessed that Sir Henry Nevile was privy to the proposals made, and the resolutions taken, in the consultation at Drury House, and it was for his knowledge of them, and for that only, that Cuffe died; it is requisite therefore that the reader should be acquainted with what those propositions were, and this he shall be told with all the succinctness possible (17). Sir Christopher Blount was, with a choice detachment, to possess himself of the Palace gate; Davis was to seize the hall; Danvers the guard-chamber, which was but slightly watched, and the presence-chamber; and Essex was to rush in from the Meuse, which were stables belonging to the Court, with a select party at his heels, and to beg the Queen on his knees to remove his adversaries from her presence, to bring them upon their trial, and then to call a Par-

(g) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 395.

(h) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 837, 838.

(i) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 396.

(k) See the case of Sir Henry Nevile, in Winwood's Mem.

(l) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 840. Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 396.

(17) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 839.

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harshly treated by Lord Bacon (u) and Sir Henry Wotton (w); and some other writers; Camden also, who knew him intimately, and had lived for many years in great friendship with him, bestows on him a short but bitter reflection. Others are milder in their censures, and all allow him to have been a very learned and a very able man. He wrote a book in English, that was printed after his death several times; and has been much commended (x); and, besides this, there is another work of his that was never printed, of both which we shall give some account in the notes [I]. The course of his life, as well as the manner of his death, rendered him the theme of much discourse in his own times; our general Historians have mentioned him in such a manner, as might have raised the curiosity of their readers, to be more particularly informed. The Reverend Mr Fuller (y) has given him a place amongst his Worthies in Somersetshire; honest Anthony Wood (z) has treated him with great fairness and freedom; and the learned and industrious Bishop Tanner (a) has spoken of him, as indeed he does of every-body, with great candour, accuracy, and decency; and these authorities will sufficiently justify the giving his memoirs a place in this collection, more especially as it has afforded an opportunity of setting several historical circumstances relating to a very dark and intricate affair, in a clear and true light. His death hindered not his limbs from being interred, though we are not able to say where; tho' the manner of it did, as it well might, deprive him of a monument; an old friend of his, however, ventured to embalm his memory in an epigram (b), with which, being very short, we shall conclude:

Doctus eras Græce felixque tibi fuit Alpha
At fuit infelix Omega Cuffe tuum.

Which has been thus translated:

*Thou wast, indeed, well read in Greek!
Thy Alpha too was crown'd with hope;
But, oh! tho' sad the truth I speak,
Thy Omega proved but a rope.*

' my own part, I never persuaded any man to take up arms against the Queen, but am most heartily concerned, for being an instrument of bringing that worthy Gentleman, Sir Henry Nevile, into danger; and do most earnestly intreat his pardon: and whereas I said, that one and twenty Aldermen out of the twenty-four were devoted to the Earl's interest, I only meant that they were his friends, and ready to serve him, but not in the way of open rebellion.' Here he was again interrupted, and so began to apply himself to his devotions, which he managed with a great deal of fervour, and then, making a solemn profession of his creed, and asking pardon of God and the Queen, he was dispatched by the executioner. A man, says Camden, of most exquisite learning, and of a penetrating, but seditious and crooked, wit (23). *Vir exquisitissima doctrina, ingenioque acerrimo, sed turbido & tortuoso.*

(23) Camd. Ann. Ellie. p. 268.

[I] Of both which we shall give some account in the notes. As for Mr Cuffe's book, it was, for some time after his decease, handed about at Oxford in manuscript, and considered as a very great curiosity. Mr Anthony Wood tells us, he wrote it in the year 1600, that is, a very little before his death. About six years after it was printed under this title:

The Differences of the Ages of Man's Life, together with the original Causes, Progress, and End, thereof. Written by the learned Henry Cuffe, some time Fellow of Merton-college in Oxford. Lond. 1607, 1638, 8vo; 1640, 12mo. There is something in this piece very curious and philosophical, and though, at this time of day, what between our proficiency in experimental philosophy, in which he was but a beginner, and the un-couthness of his stile, which was the fault of his time, much of the beauty of his work is lost; yet the strength of his thoughts, the accuracy of his method,

and his connected manner of reasoning, leaves no reason at all to doubt, that he deserved the commendations that have been bestowed upon him. Mr Wood says (24), that he left behind him many other things ready for the press, which were never published; but he does not think fit to tell us any of their titles. All that we can supply from the enquiries of the indefatigable Bishop Tanner, is the following title of one piece, and the place where it is, or at least was once, to be found (25):

De rebus gestis in sancto concilio Nicæno, or, 'The Transactions in the Holy Council of Nice, translated out of Greek into Latin,' and is believed to have been the work of Gelasius Cyrenus, which was transcribed from the original in the Vatican Library, by Henry Cuffe (26). We will conclude this note with the judicious and salutary reflection of a celebrated author, upon the uneasy life, and unfortunate death, of this extraordinary person of whom we have been speaking, which teaches the use of these kind of Histories, and shews, that we may borrow as beneficial improvements from contemplating the lives of unhappy men, as from the perusal of the swelling memoirs of persons more indebted to Fortune for her favours (27). 'Mingle not, says he, your interest with a great man's, made desperate by debts or Court injuries, whose breakings out prove fatal to their wisest followers and friends, averred in the last Earl of Essex but one, where Merrick his Steward, and Cuffe his Secretary, though of excellent parts, were both hanged. For such unconcocted rebellions turn seldom to the hurt of any but the parties that promote them, being commonly guided by the directions of their enemies, as this was by Cecil, whose creatures persuaded Essex to this inconsiderate attempt.' E

(u) See his Works; Vol. IV. p. 393.

(w) Reliquie Wottonianæ, p. 31.

(x) Fuller's Worthies in Somersetshire; p. 28. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 303.

(y) Fuller's Worthies; p. 28.

(z) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 303.

(a) Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica, p. 211.

(b) Owen, Epigram. lib. v. nu. 107.

(24) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 308.

(25) Bibliotheca Cotton. Ners. D. X.

(26) Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernica, p. 211.

(27) Osborn's Advice to his Son, p. i. cap. iv.

CUMBERLAND (RICHARD) a very learned Divine, and Bishop of Peterborough in the close of the last and beginning of the present century. He was the son of an honest citizen of London, who, by his industry, acquired a competent, though not a great fortune (a). This Reverend Prelate was born in the parish of St Ann near Aldersgate, July 15th, 1632, tho' his father lived afterwards in Fleet-street (b). He received the first tincture of letters in St Paul's school, under the care of Mr John Langley (c), and was removed from thence to Magdalen-College in Cambridge, where he was con-

(a) From the Rev. Mr Payne's Preface to Sancheziantho's Phœnician History, p. 3.

(b) Willis's Survey of Cathedral, Vol. III. p. 510.

(c) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 555.

10 Final comment

Henry Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex, died in abominable circumstances and had a relatively short, but nevertheless interesting life. He still lives in our memory. Proofs of this affirmation are the numerous articles treating about him.

Because of his classical studies and the important function he occupied as a secretary to the Earl of Essex, he was able to move in the highest circles of society. If the coup of his master had succeeded in 1601, he would be one of the most important persons in the kingdom. Fate has decided otherwise.

With this small paper another addition has been made to honour his memory.

(Oostende, 5 February 2011)

(Oostende, 11 March 2020)